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THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE AT Croydon

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THE

Archiepiscopal Palace

AT

Croydon.

BY

J. CORBET ANDERSON.

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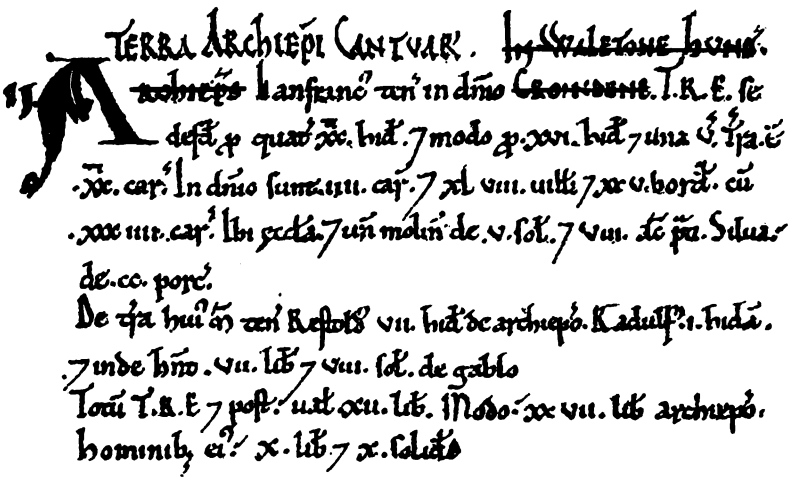
DOMESDAY BOOK.

From Domesday Book, that coeval monument of the Conquest of England by the Normans, we extract the entry relating to this Parish: the subjoined is a phototype facsimile:—



Of the above the following is the Latin extension:—

"TERRA ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTVARIENSIS.
IN WALETONE HVNDREDO.

IJ. *Archiepiscopus* Lanfrancus tenet in dominio *CROINDENE.* Tempore Regis Edwardi se defendebat pro quater viginti hidis et modo pro xvi hidis et una virgata. Terra est viginti carucarum. In dominio sunt iiii carucæ et xlviii uillani et xxv bordarii cum xxxiiii carucis. Ibi æcclesia et unus molinus de v solidis et viii acræ prati. Silua de cc porcis.
De terra hujus Manerii tenet Restoldus vii hidas de

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archiepiscopo. Radulfus i hidam; et inde habent vii libras et viii solidos de gablo.
Totum tempore Regis Edwardi et post ualuit xii libras. Modo xxvii libras archiepiscopo.
Hominibus ejus x libras et x solidos."

Rendered into English this signifies:—

"II. THE LAND OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*IN WALETONE (WALLINGTON) HUNDRED.**

"Archbishop Lanfranc holds in demesne *CROINDENE* (Croydon). In the time of King Edward (the Confessor) it was assessed for eighty hides,† and now for sixteen hides and one virgate.‡ The land is for (or sufficient to employ) twenty ploughs (ox teams). In demesne there are four ploughs, and forty-eight villans§ and twenty-five

---

* Wallington is now a hamlet in the parish of Beddington.

† Mr. Kemble in his learned work on *The Saxons in England*, Vol. I., pp. 88—121, defines the Hid or Hide of Land as "the estate of one household, the amount of land sufficient for the support of one family." "It must be borne in mind," he continues, "that the Hide comprised only arable land; the meadow and pasture was in the common lands and forests, and was attached to the Hide as of common right." The extent of the Hide (he argues) would necessarily vary according to the qualities of the soil, etc., but that ordinarily from thirty to thirty-three acres appear to have constituted the amount of the Hide among the Anglo-Saxons. Learned men differ in their explanations of the term "Hida."

‡ The *Virgata* of Domesday signifies the fourth part of the Hide; hence the term "Yardland."

§ *Villans*—Holders of land by a mixed tenure, not clearly defined. They were burdened with stated services due from themselves and their land.

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bordars* with thirty-four ploughs. Here a church; and one mill of (or yielding an annual rental of) five shillings, and eight acres† of meadow. Wood for two hundred swine.

"Of the land of this manor Restold holds seven hides of the Archbishop. Ralph (holds) one hide; and from thence they have seven pounds and eight shillings for gable.‡ In the time of King Edward, and afterwards, the whole was worth twelve pounds. Now, twenty-seven pounds to the Archbishop: and to his men (homagers) ten pounds and ten shillings."

---

* The *Bordarii* are supposed to have been cottagers (from the Saxon "*bord*," a cottage), who held small portions of land, upon condition of performing certain services to the lord.

† The Anglo-Saxon acre does not appear to have differed materially from the statute acre of our day. It seems to have been a fixed and not a variable quantity; apparently, however, there was a small as well as large acre.—*Kemble.*

‡ *Gable* or *Gavel*, a customary rent in money or kind, and sometimes a service performed to the king or any other lord.

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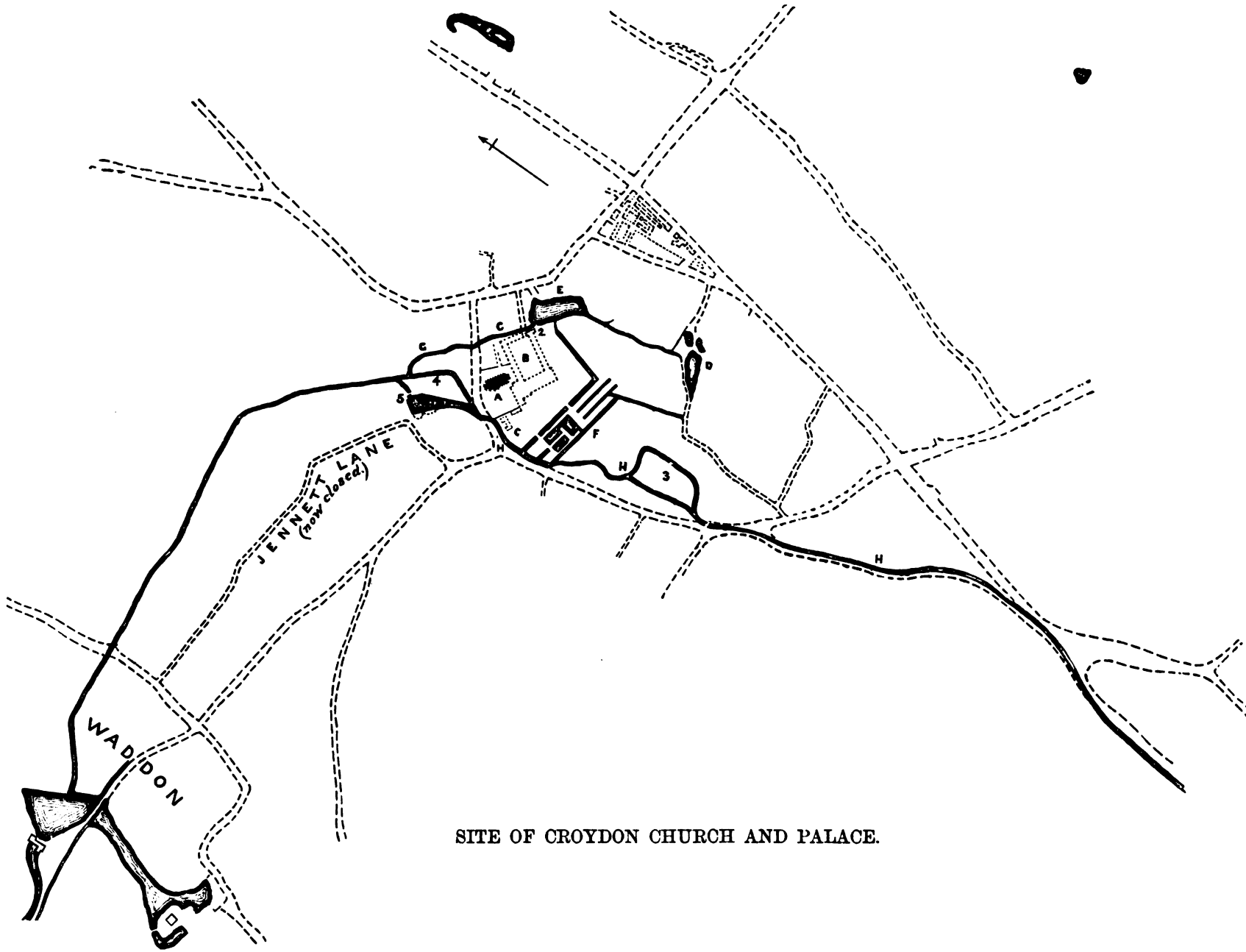

SITE OF CROYDON CHURCH AND PALACE.

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EXPLANATION.

THE accompanying map of the site of Croydon Palace and Church has been prepared in order to show how these were formerly surrounded by water.* The dotted lines indicate the roads in the vicinity as they coursed in the year 1801; doubtless some of these are very ancient paths.

A. The Church.

B. Ancient quadrangular Court of Archiepiscopal Palace.

C. Old Vicarage.

D. Scarbrook Pond. } These were full of springs and abounded
E. "My Lord's Pond." } in trout.

F. Fish-ponds, formerly in the gardens of the Palace. Some of these perhaps were originally natural ponds; they were fed by streams issuing from Scarbrook and "My Lord's pond."

G G. Natural stream, formerly on the north side of Croydon Palace and Church. This stream issued from "My Lord's pond;" after coursing along the south side of Church Road (which road, however, is of recent origin), it crossed Church Street in a diagonal line due west, when passing by the side of the north wall of Elys Davy's almshouse, it ultimately joined the main stream. Not many years since, the extensive machinery of a large calico printing factory that stood at the spot indicated by the figure 2, was turned by water-power from an artificial branch of this stream. Mr. Edwards tells me he has often caught trout in the stream. The brick-arched water-course through which it ran past the north wall of Elys Davy's almshouse, remains to this day.

H H H. Natural stream upon south side of Palace and Church; at such periods as the overflow of the bourn, this was traceable a distance

---

* *Authorities consulted*:—Ducarel's map of the year 1783; Map attached to the award of the Commissioners appointed to enclose the common and waste lands at Croydon, dated 2nd March, 1801; plan attached to auctioneer's particulars of Palace Estate, January 14th, 1829, kindly lent me by William Drummond, Esq.; plan of the estate opposite the Church, bought by Mr. Harris; Mr. Cox's plan of the town of Croydon which accompanied Report of Croydon Local Board of Health, dated November 27th, 1849; and various living men who remember having seen the ponds, streams, and mills referred to, and who showed the writer arches and other remaining indications of the water-courses delineated.

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of five or six miles, as far as Marden Park, on the Godstone Road. The spot shown by the figure 3, where Union Street now stands, is popularly known as "Bog Island;" a nomenclature sufficiently indicative of the original condition of the soil. The course of the stream round a large portion of Bog Island, can easily be traced by an existing row of willow-trees, and a succession of more objectionable landmarks. Arrived at the corner of the churchyard, this tributary head of the Wandle appears to have crossed the road, when, after coursing a short distance northwards, in front of, and within a few feet of, the tower of Croydon Church, it turned rather abruptly towards the west. The late Mr. Harris informed me he could distinctly remember, sixty years ago, catching trout in this stream, opposite our old Church. The width and depth of the stream varied according to the season; at the corner of the churchyard where the stream crossed the road, it was ordinarily from ten to twelve feet wide, and from nine to eighteen inches deep; where figure 4 is placed the depth was greater, namely, from ten inches to two feet. In order to obtain more water-power, the late Mr. Starey's father enlarged, or formed the lake represented west of the Church, and figure 5 indicates where a water-mill stood so recently as the year 1849. After Mr. Starey's time, the dimensions of this milldam were curtailed to the size and shape indicated by the dotted line, when a bath-house was erected where the black spot is placed; the site is now occupied by a dwelling-house called Bath Cottage.

In Domesday Book, in the entry relating to Croydon, it says "here is a Church *and a mill.*" Since, however, not one of the ponds or streams described now have any existence, without some reliable chart of the positions these formerly occupied to guide his judgment, fifty years hence a local historian might assign to the mill referred to in Domesday a site more remote from the Church than he would have done had he been conversant with the topography of our parish prior to the date when it was handed over to the care of the Local Board of Health. For, doubtless, to the enlightened labours of the gentlemen composing this Board, it is mainly owing that a district, recently traversed by dangerous fever-emitting open sewers, has been transformed into a healthy locality. During the process, however, the surface springs and once pure waters and purling brooks that surrounded Croydon Palace and Church have disappeared; no longer can it be said they stand upon an island.

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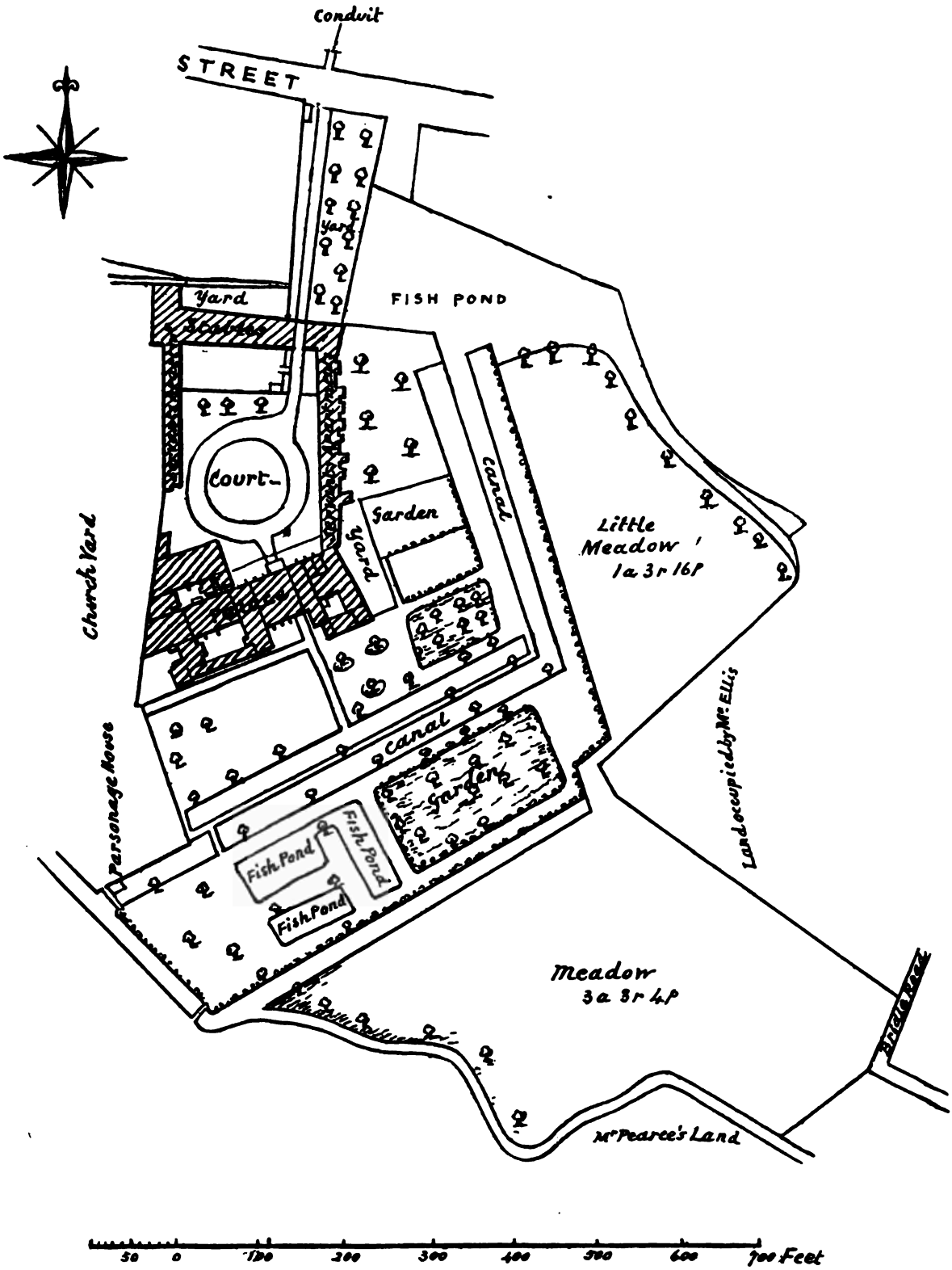

PLAN OF CROYDON PALACE AND GROUNDS IN 1780.

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The Archiepiscopal PALACE At Croydon.

THE Capital residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury was anciently the Palace situated near their cathedral at Canterbury, and given by King Ethelbert, after his conversion to Christianity, to Augustine and his successors for ever. But, besides this palace, the archbishops had many other castles, seats and manors where they, from time to time resided, as their inclination for retirement or pleasure directed them. Of this number was the Manor of Croydon, a place which for many ages has belonged to the See of Canterbury.

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Although a considerable portion of the buildings still exist, Croydon Palace, unfortunately, is too much altered and mutilated to tell its history otherwise than in an imperfect manner. Upon the spot now occupied by its remains may once have stood the residence of an Anglo-Saxon chief, the thegn, perhaps, who founded the adjoining Church. And as tending to confirm the conjecture that this site was occupied before the Norman Conquest, the circumstance may here be noted that, not long since, a silver penny, of the Anglo-Saxon King Æthelred II., was dug up from a depth of about four feet, in the grounds of this Palace, just a few feet northwards from the porch of the old Banquetting Hall. The subjoined sketch represents the coin referred to:—

Obv.—+ÆÐELRED REX ANGLO

Rev. - +PVLFSTAN M̄O LVND*

Yet, whether a dwelling-house stood here in Anglo-Saxon times, or otherwise, Domesday Book informs us that, when William the Conqueror's Commissioners visited these parts, they found Archbishop Lanfranc in possession of the Manor of Croydon. As a rule, Domesday states in regard to places it describes to whom they belonged in King Edward the Confessor's time; in respect, however, to Croydon, the Norman scribe is silent as to who had

* The calamitous reign of Æthelred II., or *the Unready*, lasted from A.D. 979 to 1016, excepting during the few weeks his throne was occupied by Suein the Dane. The coin represented above is common: a great number were discovered about three years since in the Butter Market at Ipswich, most with the same device as this one, viz., a representation of the *Hand of Providence;* and, like it, having been minted in London.

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been its Saxon owner. Yet, to whomsoever it appertained in Anglo-Saxon times, certain it is that, ere the Surrey Domesday was compiled, Croydon had passed to an Italian ecclesiastic, who held the same of the Norman Duke; for the great battle of Hastings had been fought and won; and William having slain Harold, was now wearing the English crown.

Appertaining to the Norman manor, in all likelihood, was the capital messuage or mansion of the *seigneur* or lord of the fee, from whose usual abiding therein indeed the word manor, *manoir*, is derived; so that this, being essentially connected therewith, probably was coeval with the manor itself, and, consequently, in existence between A.D. 1066 and A.D. 1087, within which years Croydon was presented by the Conqueror to Lanfranc.

ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC (A.D. 1070—89) then having received from King William a certain quantity of land here, to be parcelled out amongst inferior tenants, holding under the Archbishop, of necessity would require a place in which to assemble those tenants at stated times to pay the rents, and perform such service as by their tenure were due. "I shall, therefore, not scruple," writes the learned antiquary, Edward Rowe Mores, "to set down Archbishop Lanfranc as the first founder of the Palace of Croydon; and to corroborate an assertion which I think may be supported by good arguments, I shall add the authority of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, who lived in the times we are speaking of, and, in his account of Archbishop Lanfranc, tells us that he built much in the vills belonging to the Archbishoprick."*

* *Hist. Nov.*, p. 9, quoted in "Some account of the Palace of Croydon," etc., published by Dr. Ducarel in the twelfth number of the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica.*

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If a structure then was reared here by Lanfranc, it would probably be built by him in accordance with the simplicity of that age, and the uses for which it was intended; being designed rather for the habitation of the reeve, and the occasional reception of those who owed suit and service here, than for the residence of an Archbishop.

At that early period, the Archbishops led either a conventual life in common with their monks, or dwelt in their palace at Canterbury; until Baldwin having procured for himself, and his successors, the manor of Lambeth, by an exchange with the church of Rochester; after his time there is evidence of the Archbishops residing at their manor houses; as, Archbishop Walter at Tenham; Langton at Slindon; and Boniface at Mortlake. It appears, however, that for many years afterwards the chief use the primates made of such manorial abodes was to supply the place of houses of entertainment on the road, of which, in those days, the country was almost destitute. Accordingly, to their manors, the Archbishops, with their attendants, repaired, when requiring accommodation, as they journeyed on their errands of Church or State. It will readily be understood, therefore, that to be possessed of *several* houses became almost a necessity for persons holding high ecclesiastical or civil positions in those times. Moreover, previously to the Reformation, the Archbishops had to perform much business, both of a religious and secular nature, which, then personally transacted, long since has been deputed to others. This business was inseparable from their office of Archbishop, and followed them wherever they went. Hence the registers at Lambeth contain entries of official acts in the Province of Canterbury, as consecrations, ordinations, institutions

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to benefices, etc., dated from the following manor houses or, more properly, Palaces of the See:—

Surrey—	Croydon,	Lambeth,	Mortlake.
Kent —	Aldyngton,	Canterbury,	Charing,
	Cranbrook,	Knole,	Lyminge,
	Malling,	Maidstone,	Otford,
	Saltwood,	Tenham,	Wengham,
	Wrotham.		
Sussex—	Mayfield,	Slindon,	Tarring.

Archbishop Cranmer exchanged several of these manors with King Henry VIII. for other lands; at this day many do not exist—some are in ruins. Of those that remain, Lambeth alone retains its original occupancy.

Of Archbishop Lanfranc's presumed building at Croydon not a trace is now visible.

That a house existed here in 1273 appears by a mandate of ARCHBISHOP KILWARDBY (A.D. 1273—78), dated from Croydon on the 4th of September in that year.* It shows that this primate once lived at Croydon; and his dwelling here may be received as evidence that this house was then fit for the reception of so great a prelate.

The Archiepiscopal Registers preserved at Lambeth commence only with ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM (A.D. 1279—92), who resided much at Croydon. During Peckham's tenure of office occurs the earliest mention of a chapel in this manor of Croydon, in the record of an ordination holden therein in the year 1283.†

---

* *Archiepiscopi Cant. mandatum pro convocatione apud novum Templum, London* (*ex reg. Giffard Wighorn.*, fol. 41). See WILKIN'S *Concilia*, Vol. II., p. 26.

† *Reg. Peckham*, fol. 111a.

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Archbishop Winchelsey succeeded (A.D. 1294—1313). With the latter part of his pontificate, or, perhaps, with the age of his successor, Archbishop Reynolds (A D. 1313—27), who also occasionally lived here, coincide certain reparations made at Croydon, the particulars of which are mentioned in the minister's accounts of the year.* The roll is imperfect, and the date wanting, but Richard de Fairford was then bailiff, and Thomas de Bunchesham, reeve of Croydon. In that year the kitchen and salsary were repaired, the wardrobe boarded, the bakehouse and stable, together with the sheepcotes and stalls for oxen, weather-boarded, and put into repair. The buildings were then all of timber, no other workmen but carpenters being employed about them. In the same roll is another charge on account of the kitchen-garden and the vineyard.

During the short period of two years (A.D. 1366—68) in which Archbishop Langham enjoyed the See he was once at Croydon.

Archbishop Whittlesey (A.D. 1368—74) appears to have resided here, and to have celebrated three ordinations in the chapel of his manor of Croydon in the year 1371.†

Archbishop Sudbury (A.D. 1375—81) was here four times only; but his successor,

Archbishop Courtenay (A.D. 1381—96) came here soon after his election, and received his pall with great solemnity, in the great Hall of Croydon Palace, on May 4th, 1382.‡ This prelate spent part of every year of his pontificate at Croydon. It appears that the mansion

* *Rot. Lacerat. de temp. E. II.*

† *Reg. Whittlesey*, fol. 167 b et seq.

‡ "*In camera principali maner. sui de Croydon:*" *Reg. Courtenay*, fol. 9a.

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house of Croydon had, at this time, increased both in its buildings and conveniences; for whereas hitherto the Archbishops had no more than one chamber whither they could retire, namely, their bedchamber, so that acts are frequently said to be performed *juxta lectum domini* and *ad pedes lecti;* mention is now made of a more honourable apartment called the chief or principal chamber.* The reference to this principal chamber occurs, however, rather too early† in the time of Courtenay to lead us to suppose it was built by him; yet that something more than mere ordinary reparations were done at this Palace in the days of Courtenay is proved by the circumstance that, a chapel was built by this Archbishop in his manor of Croydon,‡ underneath the privy chamber, near the garden, wherein a special ordination was held on the 28th of May, 1390. This seems to have been a small chapel intended for private use, and after its erection the previously mentioned old chapel appears, by way of distinction, to be called "the chapel of the manor of Croydon, *capella manerii de Croydon.*"§

In Archbishop Courtenay's time a new granary was erected here, with a chamber over it, and also a wall contiguous thereto, built towards the churchyard, which wall was repaired in the year 1400.‖ This brings us to the time of

Archbishop Arundel (A.D. 1397—1414). To his pontificate is ascribed the *computus*, or roll of Adam Bochers, reeve of Croydon from Michaelmas, 1399, to Michaelmas, 1400. In the roll referred to, Bochers, by his attorney,

---

* *Reg. Courtenay*, fol. 9a.

† Sc. anno 1382.

‡ *Reg. Courtenay*, fol. 251a.

§ *Ibid.*

‖ *Comp. Adæ Bochers ppos. de Croyd.*, 1400.

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John Pieres,* accounts for a sum of money expended in building a new stable and chambers at Croydon, of which the particulars are accurately enumerated. This stable is afterwards described as the *new* stable, and the *great* stable, to distinguish it from the *old* stable. Between the two stables there was a wall of lath and plaster, defended at the top with ridge tiles (the ordinary method of constructing walls before the use of bricks was generally introduced), and another wall of the same material connected the great stable with an apartment called the privy chamber: both of these were built in this year. The same roll informs us of another building which also was then reared from its foundation. This is called the hall, and described as being situate opposite the cellar towards the *herbarium*. The repairs of this year were re-hanging the great gate of the manor, and the racks in the old stable; a reparation of the chamber over the granary; a new door to the cellar, and a new door-case of Caen stone: out of doors, the inclosure about the pond of my lord's garden, and the inclosure of the garden itself were amended; and a new hedge was made from my lord's park, to a spot between the corner of the kitchen and the pond.

Soon after these alterations, Archbishop Arundel ordained an oratory within his manor of Croydon,† from whence it has been surmised that, the chapel belonging to this manor was now either rebuilt or repaired. The arms of this prelate appearing on two corbels in the guard-chamber, also tends towards the supposition that this was erected by him.

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* *Comp. Adæ Bochers ppos. de Croyd.*, 1400.

† *Reg. Arundel, I.*, 327b.

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Archbishop Chicheley, who filled the See of Canterbury from A.D. 1414 to 1443, resided much at Croydon. In his register he appointed Adam Pykman and Richard Pykman "*custodes capitalis mansi manerii de Croydon*" for life. This act is dated from Lambeth, July 7th, 1441. After the decease of Chicheley,

Archbishop Stafford (A.D. 1443—52) made Croydon one of his principal residences. The arms of this prelate are more than once repeated in the hall, which seems to indicate that he repaired and beautified it, if it was not entirely rebuilt by him. And if evidence were elsewhere wanting to prove that Archbishop Stafford resided at Croydon, it is found in a carpenter's bill for making my lord's new bed at the manor house of Croydon. Most of the acts of his successor,

Archbishop Kemp (A.D. 1452—54), are dated from Lambeth and Croydon. We come now to

Archbishop Bouchier, who held the See thirty-three years, from A.D. 1454 to 1486. Croydon was one of the chief places of his residence. Early in the pontificate of Bouchier, this manor house and the outhouses belonging to it were new tiled.* A record of other repairs in Archbishop Bouchier's time is preserved in the *computus* of Ric. Pykman, Keeper of the manor of Croydon from Michaelmas, 1466, to Michaelmas, 1467, but the nature of these can only be guessed at from the materials of the workmen employed. Thus, the most noticeable articles are, 5,500 tiles, and 24 lb. of solder; and of workmen employed, there was one tiler and his man eighteen days; another twenty-four days, and a plasterer four days. "A third reparation of the same sort," says the learned author†

* *Rot. imperf. de ann.*, 34 *Hen. VI.*

† E. R. Mores, M.A., F.S.A.

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previously quoted, "was made at Croydon, by the same Archbishop, in the year 1474;* then also were new racks and mangers set up in the stables, and the top of the garden wall was covered with tiles. The repeated enumeration of very trifling particulars, which a want of better materials only can excuse, is made capable of some little variation, by what the accounts of the next year† present us with. In them we are informed that, besides the common work of tiling the roofs, and soldering the gutters of the manor house at Croydon, some binns for bread were this year made in the pantry, some work done in the pastry, and a cupboard put up in the hall. Over and above these performances something more worthy our notice does yet remain to be mentioned: the work done this year over the altar in the chapel, for placing the jewels upon." The earliest mention of a dove-house at this place is met with in the accounts of this year (1475). In 1485, Joh. Lyttell, then Keeper of the manor of Croydon, accounted for lx*s.* iii*d.* laid out in repairs there done.

Archbishop Morton (A.D. 1486—1500), who was also a Cardinal, occasionally resided at Croydon.

Archbishop Warham (A.D. 1503—32), although he lived chiefly at Lambeth and Knole, yet sometimes dwelt at Canterbury, Charing, and Croydon. In his time the sum of x*l.* xv*s.* ii*d.* was expended in making four gates, and in wages paid to sundry carpenters, tilers, and other labourers.‡

Archbishop Cranmer's (A.D. 1533—56) arms, formerly

* *Comp. Joh. Lyttell, ex rot. gen.* 14 *Edw. IV.*

† *Rot. general imperf. de anno* 15 *Edw. IV.*

‡ *Comp. omnium min. de temp.*

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emblazoned on the south-east window of the guard-chamber, appear to indicate that he repaired this house. It was at Croydon Palace that the learned and excellent John Fryth, who afterwards suffered martyrdom at Smithfield, on July 4th, 1533, appeared before Archbishop Cranmer, Dr. Heath, and others, appointed by the king for that purpose, to answer for his opinions concerning transubstantiation, etc. On the night of his arrival at Croydon poor Fryth was "well entertained in the porter's lodge."*

Cardinal Pole's (A.D. 1556—58) principal residence was at Lambeth and Westminster, but one act of his is dated at Croydon.

Archbishop Parker (A.D. 1559—75) often resided at Croydon Palace. In 1567 Queen Elizabeth appears to have visited this prelate at Croydon, where, on the 30th of April, she held a Council.† On Wednesday, July 14th, 1573, the great Queen came here from her palace at Greenwich, and with all her attendants staid at Croydon Palace for seven days. It would seem also from the following paper, containing the arrangements for the reception of the Queen's retinue, that Her Majesty was so well pleased with her entertainment that she intended to, if Her Majesty did not actually re-visit Croydon in the following year:—

"Lodgins at Croyden, the Busshope of Canterburye's house, bestowed as followeth, the 19th of Maye, 1574:—

The Lord Chamberlayne‡ his old lodginge
The L Tresurer§ wher he was

* Fox: *Acts and Monuments, etc.*

† Council-book in the Duke of Buckingham's Library at Stowe.

‡ Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex.

§ William Cecil, Lord Burleigh.

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The La Marques* at y^e^ nether end of the great chamber
The La of Warwick wher she was
The Erle of Lecester† wher he was
The Lord Admyrall‡ at y^e^ nether end of y^e^ great chamber
The La Howard wher she was
The Lo of Honsdane wher he was
Mr. Secretarye Walsingham wher Mr. Smyth§ was
The La Stafforde wher she was
Mr. Henedge‖ wher he was
Mrs. Drewreye wher y^e^ La Sydney was
Ladis and gentylwomen of y^e^ Privye Chamber ther olde
Mrs. Abbington her olde, and one other small rome added for y^e^ table
The maydes of honnor wher they wer
Sir George Howard wher he was
The Capten of y^e^ gard¶ wher my L of Oxford was
The gromes of y^e^ Privye Chamber ther olde
The esquyeres for the bodye ther olde
The gentylmen husshers ther olde
The phesycyas ij chambers
The Quen's robes wher they were
The grome porter wher he was
The clark of the Kytchen wher he was
The wardrobe of bedes.

For the Quen's Wayghters, I cannot as yet fynde anye convenyent romes to place them in, but I will doo the best y^t^ I can to place them elsewher, but yf y^t^ please you S^r^ y^t^ I doo remove them. The Gromes of the Privye Chamber nor Mr. Drewrye have no other waye to ther chambers but to pas thorowe that waye agayne that my Lady of Oxford should come. I cannot then tell wher to place Mr. Hatton; and for my La Carewe here is no place with a chymeney for her, but that she must

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* Elizabeth Paulet, Marchioness of Winchester.
† Robert Dudley.
‡ Edward Fynes, Earl of Lincoln.
§ Afterwards Sir Thomas, and Secretary of State.
‖ Afterwards Sir Thomas, Vice-Chamberlain.
¶ Christopher Hatton, Esq., afterwards Sir Christopher.

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ley abrode by Mrs. Aparry and the rest of y^e^ Pryvy Chambers. For Mrs. Shelton here is no romes with chymeneys; I shall staye one chamber without for her. Here is as mutche as I have any wayes able to doo in this house. From Croyden this present Wensday mornyinge, your Honnors alwayes most bowden

S. Bowyer."

The arms of Archbishop Parker were formerly emblazoned on the bow window of the guard-chamber of Croydon Palace.*

Archbishop Grindal (A.D. 1575-6—1583), when urged to resign the Archbishopric, petitioned that he might retain this residence and the adjoining meadow called "Stubbs," Croydon Park, and eighteen acres of meadow at Norbury. "Croydon house, he said, was no wholesome house, and that, both his predecessor and he found by experience; notwithstanding, because of the nearness to London, whither he must often repair, or send to have some help of physic, he knew no house so convenient for him, or that might better be spared of his successor, for the short time of his life."† Archbishop Grindal died here on July 6th, 1583.

Archbishop Whitgift (A.D. 1583—1603-4) resided much at Croydon, and this mansion is first called *Palatium* in his Register, on the 9th July, 1599, in the act of the dedication of the chapel of his Hospital of the Holy Trinity. Sir George Paul, in his life of Whitgift, observes, "The Archbishop had ever a great affection to lie at his mansion-house at Croydon, for the sweetness of the place, especially in summer-time, whereby also he might sometimes retire himself from the multiplicity of business, and suitors in the vacation; yet, after he had builded his

* Ducarel.

† Strype's *Life of Grindal*, p. 284.

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hospital and his school, he was farther in love with the place than before."

Archbishop Abbot (A.D. 1611—33) also resided much at this palace. According to the Harleian MSS.—"The Archbish. of Canterbury (Abbot) had a house, by Croydon, pleasantly sited, but that it was too much wood-bound, so he cutt downe all upon the front to the highway. Not long after, the L. Chancellor Bacon riding by that way, asked his man whose faire house that was; he told him, my L. of Canterburie's. It is not possible, sayes he, for his building is inviron'd with wodde. 'Tis true, Sr, sayes he, it was so, but he has lately cut most of it downe. By my troth (answered Bacon), he has done very judiciously, for before methoughts it was a very obscure and darke place, but now he has expounded and cleared it wonderfully well."*

Archbishop Abbot died at Croydon Palace on the 5th of August, 1633. He was succeeded by

Archbishop Laud (A.D. 1633—44), whose arms were formerly in the north window of the guard-chamber, and are still to be seen in the chapel. At the trial of this prelate, Browne, his joiner, being examined at the Lords' Bar against his will, confessed upon his oath, that in the chapel at Croydon there was an old broken crucifix in the window, which he, by the Archbishop's direction, caused to be repaired and made complete; which picture was there remaining very lately; for which work Master Prynn found the glazier's bill, discharged by the Archbishop himself, among others of his papers. Laud put up an organ in the chapel, as appears by his will, a copy of which is preserved in the Manuscript Library at Lambeth.

* No. 6395, p. 90.

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"In the times of anarchy and confusion," says the learned Ducarel, "which ensued after the death of Archbishop Laud, this palace, with the estate about it, was wrested from the See of Canterbury, and offered to sale; a particular survey for that purpose (wherein the materials of this house, which was to be taken down and sold, were valued at £1,200) being made the 17th of March, 1646; to which time the palace, and everything that belonged to it, had been leased by the then ruling powers to the Earl of Nottingham; after which the possession of it fell to Sir William Brereton, Colonel-General for the Cheshire Forces, who turned the chapel into a kitchen, which, I suppose continued in that condition till the Restoration in 1660, when

"Archbishop Juxon (A.D. 1660—63) repaired and fitted it up in a handsome decent manner, as appears by his arms in several parts of it, and in the north window of the guard-chamber."

Archbishop Sheldon (1663—77) in the latter part of his life retired here, and died in this palace on November 9th, 1677. His arms were emblazoned in the north window of the old guard-chamber.

Archbishop Tenison's (A.D. 1694—1715) regard for Croydon was manifested by his founding a charity school in this town; it is uncertain, however, whether or not he resided here.

Archbishop Wake (A.D. 1716—37). In his additions to Aubrey's Topographical Account of Surrey, published about 1718, Dr. Rawlinson writes: "This seat at present is in a very bad condition, insomuch, that the present possessor of the See of Canterbury has demanded 1,400*l.* for dilapidations belonging to this house, which is 1,280*l.* more than Pole's executors paid, and 'tis probable, that

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'tis 1,350*l.* more than was paid by Grindal's executors; and this demand is thought the more severe, inasmuch as His Grace is said to have discovered his intention of suing to His Majesty for a Royal License, that, in a legal way, he may be empowered to pull down some of the buildings at Lambhithe, and the buildings at Croydon, these last being situated, as His Grace apprehends, in an ill air."*

Archbishop Wake resided several summers at Croydon Palace. It was Wake who rebuilt the long gallery. A pane of glass formerly in one of the windows of this gallery, but now in the Library at Lambeth, owes its preservation to this prelate. On it is inscribed, in the handwriting of Archbishop Laud, the following:—

Memorand.—Ecclesiæ de Micham, Cheme et Stonè cum aliis, fulgure combustæ sunt. Jan. 14, 163$\frac{8}{9}$. Omen avertat Deus.

Archbishop Potter (A.D. 1737—47) seldom resided here, although he was buried in the neighbouring church.

Archbishop Herring (A.D. 1747—57) thoroughly repaired and furnished this palace, and much improved the gardens. In a letter from this prelate to Dr. Ducarel, dated Croydon House, 1752, the Archbishop writes:—"I love this old house, and am very desirous of amusing myself with the history of its buildings, for the house is not one, but most certainly an aggregate of buildings of different tastes and ages."† In Archbishop Herring's time the ancient alms, commonly called the Dole, used to

* Vol. II., p. 33.—*Vide* "The true Copies of some Letters, occasioned by the Demand for Dilapidations in the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury." Part II., p. 7. London, 1716.

† *Bib. Top. Brit.*, Vol. II.

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be regularly distributed at the gate of Croydon Palace. Archbishop Herring died here on the 13th of March, 1757.

Archbishop Hutton (A.D. 1757—58) resided at Croydon in the summer of 1757.

As Archbishops Secker and Cornwallis, Hutton's immediate successors, did not make Croydon their place of residence, this palace became greatly dilapidated; and, in 1780, an Act of Parliament was obtained "for vesting in trustees the capital messuage, with the appurtenances, at Croydon, in the County of Surrey, known by the name of The Palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and two closes near thereto adjoining, in trust, to sell the same; and for disposing of and applying the money to arise thereby, and received on account of the dilapidations thereof, and other money, in the manner and for the purposes therein mentioned."

In the preamble of this Act, it is stated—1. That the palace was in so low and unwholesome a situation, and in many respects so incommodious and unfit to be the habitation of an Archbishop of Canterbury that few of the Archbishops had of late years been able to reside there, and the same was then unfit to be their habitation.—2. That there then stood on the books of the South Sea Company 5,402*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* Old South Sea Annuities, in the names of Frederick, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Richard Maurice Jones, Gent., deceased, in trust for the See, as stock which had been formerly purchased with money allowed by the Commissioners for building Westminster Bridge, as a compensation to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his successors for the loss they sustained by destroying the horse-ferry from Lambeth to Millbank; the dividends whereof, amounting to 162*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* had been received by the Archbishops of Canterbury for their

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own use and benefit.—3. That there was also standing in the name of the Archbishop, 1,564*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* 3*l.* per cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities, purchased by him in May, 1769, with the monies received by him for dilapidations at Croydon, and which, with the accumulated interest, amounted to 2,360*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.*—4. That the Archbishop had lately purchased the leasehold interest in a farm belonging to the See of Canterbury, called Park Hill, situate within half a mile of the town of Croydon, and very proper for building on part thereof a new palace for the use of the said Archbishop and his successors, in lieu of the palace at Croydon.

By this Act, the palace and appurtenances, described as "an ancient capital messuage, originally intended for the place of residence in summer of the Archbishops of Canterbury," were vested in four trustees, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Bishops of London and Winchester for the time being, with power to sell the same, either together or in parcels, or to pull down the buildings and sell the materials: who, by virtue of such power, sold by auction, October 10th, 1780, to Abraham Pitches, Esq., of Streatham, (afterwards Sir Abraham)—"The frechold and absolute inheritance in fee simple of the said capital messuage or mansion-house, with its rights, members and appurtenances, and also all houses, out-houses, edifices, buildings, gardens, orchards, tenements, hereditaments, and appurtenances, to the said capital messuage or hereditaments belonging, and their and every of their appurtenances; and also two closes of land, containing by estimation about six acres, contiguous to or near the said capital messuage, with their appurtenances; and also the water conduit or conduits, situate in a mead called Parson's

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Mead, in Croydon, with the aqueducts, and the leaden pipe or pipes leading therefrom to a cistern in the said palace," for 2,520*l.*

It was not long ere a change took place in regard to this ancient residence of the Primates of all England.

Describing Croydon about the year 1818, Garrow wrote:—"The palace is now let to persons engaged in the business of printing linen; and the garden is converted into a bleaching ground."* The spot on which the calico printing factory referred to used to stand is indicated on page 284. In a note attached to the chapter of his History of Croydon, in which he treats of this palace, Steinman adds:—"Since this work was prepared for the press, the whole demesne has been sold in various lots, the purchasers of which are rapidly converting many portions of this ancient pile into modern dwellings; and its total demolition, which time could not have effected in centuries, will probably be achieved in a few years."† Yet the work of destruction, although it has been extensive, as a comparison of the buildings represented on the old with the present ground plan of the palace will show, nevertheless has not been so rapid as anticipated. For some years past the chapel has been, and still is used as a Girls School of Industry; and various apartments of the Old Palace at present are occupied residentially. But the Great Hall, and a considerable portion of the remaining buildings, with the gardens, are appropriated to the purpose of washing and bleaching linen. Such has been the fate of Croydon Palace, formerly the seat of learning, and the splendid residence for many centuries of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

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* *The History and Antiquities of Croydon, etc.*, by the Rev. D. W. Garrow, B.D., Croydon, 1818, pp. 190—191.

† *A History of Croydon*, by G. S. Steinman, Esq., F.S.A.; Lond., 1834.

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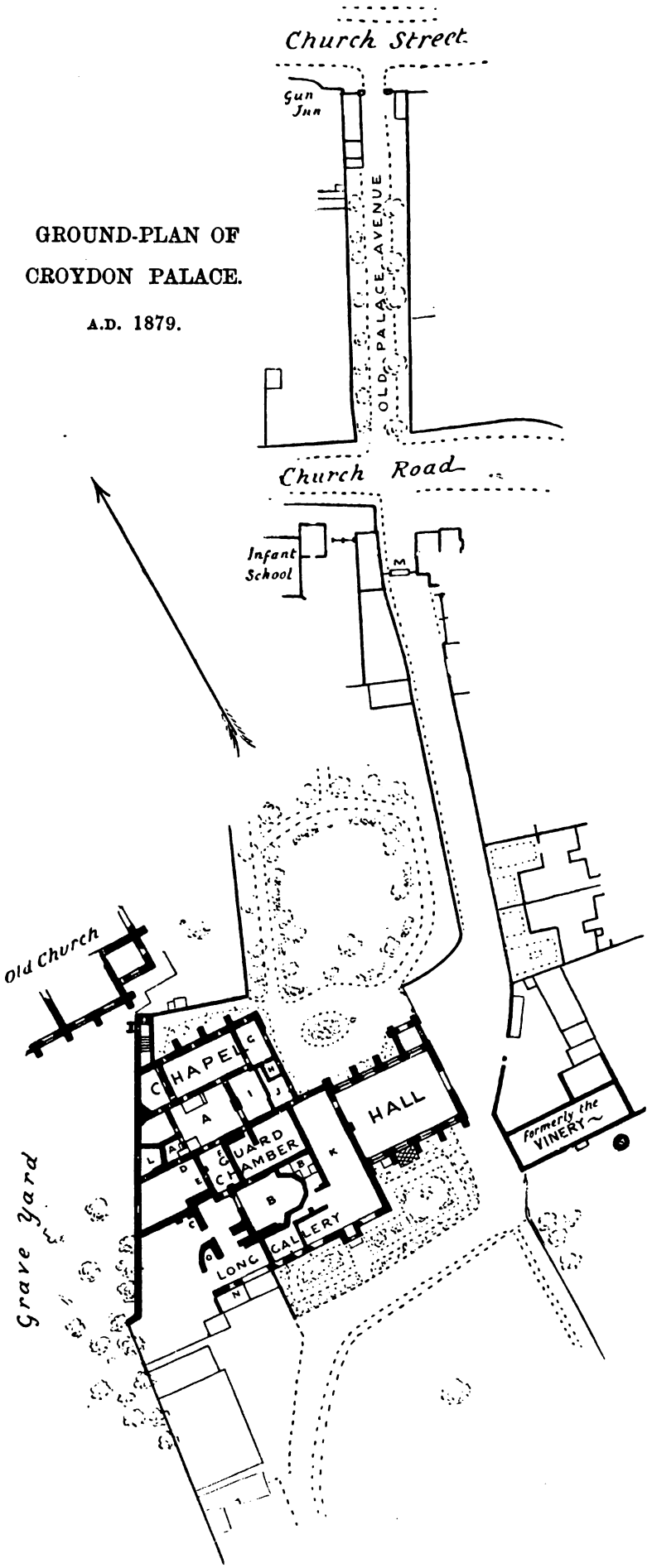
GROUND-PLAN OF
CROYDON PALACE.

A.D. 1879.



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Structural Description.

"The mansion houses of the nobility in former times very much resembled the old colleges in our universities. They generally consisted of one large court, containing a chapel, a hall, a buttery, kitchen, etc., besides other convenient and necessary apartments, among which a long gallery is not to be omitted. All these are to be found in the Palace of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury at Croydon. The hall and adjoining offices, as also (parts of) the guard-chamber, are of stone; the rest of the apartments are brick, and together form a large and handsome square or quadrangle." Thus wrote Ducarel towards the close of last century. But since that date a great change has taken place in regard to the structure of Croydon Palace, and large portions of the ancient pile have been demolished.

In treating of the fabric it is almost unnecessary to recapitulate that the several parts of Croydon Palace were the work of various ages. The east and west sides of the great court are said to have presented very early examples of buildings built entirely with bricks. The doors and windows here were narrow at the top. The rooms on the west side, up stairs, next to the passage which led to all the chambers, were square, and had each a little window and chimney only; those on the east side were of the same size, but several of them had a closet adjoining. "In this last side," wrote Ducarel, "there are several staircases; the west side has but one; and that is

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all the difference I can find between these two, which I suppose were built at the same time; the east side being probably designed for the Archbishop's constant attendants, and the west for strangers who came here casually. The form of these two buildings, the make of the doors and windows, the very little ones next the churchyard, in short, the whole taken together, sufficiently denote the antiquity, and incline me to think that these two sides are the oldest brick buildings in the Palace, and that they were built some time in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth." They might have been built even earlier, as, according to Leland, the walls of Kingston-upon-Hull were made *al of brike* in the time of Richard II. (1377—99).

The west side of the great court was removed in 1808, in order to enlarge the neighbouring churchyard, and since that date the chambers on the east side have also disappeared. Nor has it fared otherwise with the range of buildings that constituted the north side of the great court, as a comparison of the charts on pages 287 and 308 will show; for, on the north side of the old quadrangle stables formerly stood, and the gateway with porter's lodge, as also the housekeeper's* house, forming the north-

* The keeper of the Palace or mansion house of Croydon enjoyed his office by patent from the Archbishop. His duty was as follows:—"To be and inhabit in the house above granted him for his own habitason, soe to be neare his busines. w^{ch} is very carefully & dilligently to take notice of all defects & want of reparons of the mason house, stables, other outhouses, moates, ponds, pipes, & other watercourses, etc.; and, as any small defects hap^{ne} to be, immediately to take care that they be repayred; but if they hap^{ne} to be any thing considerable, then & in such case, to make his applicason to us, or o^{r} officers, and take & follow such directone as from time to time be given him by us or them for their speedy repay^{n} & amendm^{t}.

"He shall take greate care of all the goods & furniture w^{ch} now are,

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east angle of the square. But these buildings were pulled down about the year 1806, with the exception of the stone arch of the inner gate; a sketch of this relic is here introduced.

Croydon Palace is lowly situate, and, as a reference to the map on page 284 will show, was once surrounded by running trout streams. The principal approach was through an avenue from Church Street, formerly guarded

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or at any time hereafter shall be brought into our said manson-house: and of & for w^{ch} he shall make himself answerable by subscribing our Stew^{ts} book of household goods; & from it taking an exact coppie signed by o^{r} steward, shall keep it safe, soe to prev^{t} any mistake or misreconing that may arise concerning them.

"He shall especially in most weather take care that surch be made

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by iron gates, the red brick and stone-capped piers of which, erected by Archbishop Potter, still bear date 1742.

Of the buildings of Croydon Palace, existing at the present time, the drawing on page 308 is a ground plan. The structure thus represented, however, is but a mutilated remnant of the once glorious Archiepiscopal residence; for decay's effacing finger, and the ruthless hand of man have played havoc in its chambers.

Commencing our description of the surviving portions of Croydon Palace, we approach the GREAT HALL. It is of stone. At the north-east corner stands the porch that once formed the principal entrance to the Palace.

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in the severall respective roomes of o^{r} s^{d} mansion-house for y^{e} ayring of it, & the s^{d} household goods, w^{ch} will be very necessary, at least in the absence of us and of our successors from that place. And for w^{ch}

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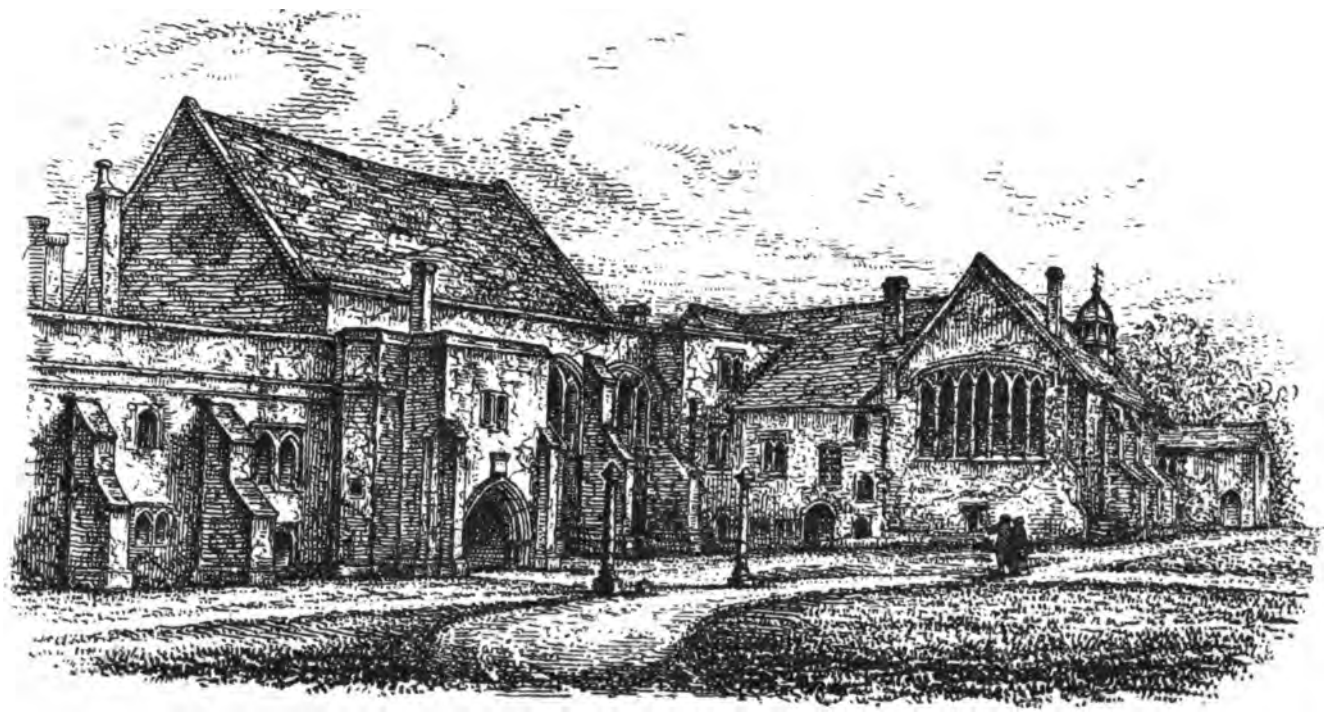

NORTH-EAST VIEW OF CROYDON PALACE;

(*From a Print published by R. Wilkinson in* 1808.)

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This porch is considered to be older than the Hall itself; its outer archway forms a richly-moulded pointed entrance; the roof is groined. Over the porch is a small chamber, with window and fireplace; and on the walls are remains of the oak panelling. At the opposite, or south side of the Hall, is another doorway, formerly leading to the garden. There is a third entrance on the west side of the apartment, and indications apparently as of a long since blocked up archway at the south-west corner of the chamber. The length of the Hall is about fifty-six feet, and its width thirty-eight feet. The roof, of oak, is a fine example of open timber Perpendicular work; and it is lofty. Its principals rest on a series of stone corbels, on which are well carved angels bearing shields of arms; the accompanying sketch represents one of these. This apartment is lit from the south by four windows, and from the north by three only; the space of a window being occupied by one of the sides of the chamber over the porch. These lights, uniform in pattern, are divided by two vertical mullions under a depressed arch. A long narrow window formerly extended from string-course to roof on the east side of the Hall. The windows referred to, probably, were once filled in

purpose, he shall have a competent allowance of fewell by war^{t} & assignm^{t} out of our woods commonly called Northwood.

"He shall doe his uttermost endeav^{r} to serve to us & our successors all our royalties of hunting, hawking, & fishing, in the man^{ers} of Croydon and Waddon; he having our deputason, giving him power & authority to preserve the game: according to y^{e} act of parliam^{t} in that case made & p'vided.

"He shall take care of all the demeasn lands w^{ch} now are, or w^{ch} hereafter may be in ours, or o^{r} successors hands. To see that y^{e} hedges & fences be kept in good & sufficient rep. & to advantage and benefit of y^{e} s^{d} lands."—*Harl. MSS.*, No. 3797, p. 153.

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with richly stained glass. Originally the hearth was in the centre of the Hall, and here they used to pile the blazing logs until a ruddy glow was diffused into the remotest corner of this large chamber; while the smoke of the fire curling upwards, escaped through a turret or louvre in mid-roof. No trace now remains of that dais, or raised platform, at the upper end of the Hall, where the lord of the mansion and his guests were wont to sit, in days when the proudest noble deemed it no dishonour to eat his meals in the common Hall along with the humblest of his servants; nor is there a vestige left of the orielle, or long passage, formerly at the west end of this apartment. The music gallery was situated at the lower or east end of the Hall, and was supported by a screen. Behind this screen were three arched doorways, one led to the ancient buttery, or place for giving out the beer and other drinks; the second to the kitchen, where

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the great feasts used to be cooked, and the third to the pantry, whence were distributed the bread and provisions, excepting the meat. The latter offices, which connected the Hall with the servants' apartments on the eastern side of the great Court, were taken down in 1810. From the construction of its windows and general style of building, Ducarel considered this portion of the Palace to be of the age of Richard II. The whole of the east end of the Hall fell down on the 8th of June, 1830.

Affixed to the upper end of the chamber is the following remarkable coat of arms, supported by two angels, viz.:— *azure*, a cross fleury *or*, between five martlets of the second, for Edward the Confessor; empaling quarterly 1 and 4 *azure*, three fleur de lis *or*, for France; 2 and 3 *gules*, three lions passant guardant *or*, for England. Under these arms is another angel holding a scroll, which bore* the following now illegible inscription:—

Dne salvum fac regem.

"The covered crown," says Steinman, "surmounting the shield, being first used by Henry VI., and his arms on the Charter of Foundation of Eton College having the same supporters, this coat has naturally been assigned to that king."

The arms of Archbishop Stafford *or*, in a border engrailed *sable*, a chevron *gules*, charged with a mitre of the first, formerly occupied a conspicuous position at the east end of the Hall, and from this circumstance, joined to the fact that the same arms appear elsewhere in the chamber, it has been inferred that this Hall was either entirely renovated or rebuilt by Archbishop Stafford, in place of an older, and it may have been a smaller apartment. On the

* Steinman, *Hist. of Croydon*, p. 106.

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north-east corbel also were once emblazoned *or*, a chevron *gules*, the arms of Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, created Duke of Buckingham in 1444, to whom the Archbishop was related; and opposite formerly were the arms of the See of Bath and Wells, of which diocese Stafford was bishop ere he was promoted to the primacy.

On the second corbel at the eastern end of the north side of the Hall is an unknown coat of arms; quarterly 1 and 4 *gules*, a chief *or*, 2 and 3 cheque *or* and *azure*, a chief of the second, over all a bend sinister *or*. The third, on the same side, contains the armorial bearings of Henry, Earl of Stafford; quarterly, 1, the arms of France and England empaled, in a border *argent;* 2 and 3 *azure* on a bend cotised *argent*, three mullets *or*, between 6 lions rampant *gules*, for Bohun; 4 *or*, a chevron *gules*, for Stafford. The shield on the next corbel bears the arms of France and England quarterly, with a label of three points, supposed to be the arms of Richard, Duke of York, the leader of the party of the Red Rose. The last corbel on this side exhibits the arms of the See of Canterbury empaling those of Archbishop Juxon,* namely, *argent*, a cross *gules*, between four moors' heads, full-faced proper.

Turning now to the south side of the room, on the second corbel, at east end of wall are the heraldic insignia of the See of Bath and Wells, *azure*, a saltire quarterly *or* and *argent*, empaling the arms of Archbishop Stafford. Next are the arms of the See of Canterbury, empaling those of Archbishop Stafford. Affixed to the fourth corbel are the arms of the same See, and these, according to Steinman, formerly empaled those of Archbishop Herring,*

* Both Archbishops Juxon and Herring repaired and fitted up this Palace.

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viz., *gules* semée of cross croslets *argent*, three herrings hauriant of the last. On the south-west corbel is the device of the same See empaling Archbishop Laud's arms, *sable* on a chevron *or*, three cross pattées fitchie *gules*, between three estoiles *argent*. Some of the above-named scutcheons are nicely cut out, but the colouring has faded.

Glancing at its position on the older map, it will be noticed that the great Hall of Croydon Palace once, like the Hall at Haddon and at Penshurst, occupied a central site in relation to other portions of the mansion; a position determined by the requirements of mediæval society, when it was the custom for an entire household to meet at meal time in a common hall. Leading off the dais, or upper end of the Hall, some four or five centuries ago, used to be the apartments of the lord and his family; whilst access to the servants' rooms was obtained from the opposite or lower end of the Hall. Behind the dais, in olden times, generally were two chambers, one over the other; the lower apartment was called the cellar, and the upper one the sollar; it was from the latter that the lord descended with his family into the Hall, and into it, or a chamber similarly adjoining the upper end of the Hall, at a later and more refined period the lord's family used to withdraw, when, under the potent influences of the wassail bowl, the noise and roysterous merriment of the retainers became unbearable; hence our word drawing-room.

The apartment thus described for centuries continued to be the Great Hall, Banqueting and Council Chamber of the Archbishops of Canterbury; and, in days when the lord of the manor of Croydon combined in his own person the great position of a prince of the Church with that of Chancellor or chief political adviser to the Monarch, doubtless many a stirring incident has been enacted within

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its walls. At this ancient threshold envoys and ambassadors have met a fitting reception, and in this Hall many an illustrious noble and scholar have been entertained, and even Royalty itself feasted. Often have the majestic beams of this grand old roof been lit up and warmed by the great crackling yule log beneath, and its rafters rung with acclamations of the Archbishop's guests and retainers, as with cup and horn, well filled, they pledged to the health of that primate whose hospitality knew no bounds, saving the limits of those vast resources formerly attached to the See. But times are changed; and, as the escutcheons on these walls have mouldered, so the tapestry that once hung down them, all tarnished, has faded away; and this Hall is now desolate. Alas! the good and great, as well as all the merry mummers, their revels over, have gone to that bourne whence no traveller returns.*

The next great room in Croydon Palace to be noticed is the GUARD-CHAMBER. It is built partly of stone, and partly of brick; it is situate on the west side of the great Hall, and is about fifty feet long by twenty-two feet wide. In former times this also must have been a noble apartment. Of the roof, which originally most likely was an open timber one, the massive oak principals spring from four large stone corbels, two carved on the north side, and two on the south; and from four smaller corbels, one in each corner of the chamber. The sketches inserted were made from two of these carvings, which really are superior both in design and execution. On one of the larger

* At the present moment a large boiler, heated from underneath, is fixed in this ancient Hall; and the apartment is otherwise so cut up and subdivided into chambers necessary to the factory, that its fine roofing and proportions are entirely obscured.

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corbels, on the north side, are sculptured the arms of Archbishop Arundel, quarterly 1 and 4 *gules*, a lion rampant *or*, 2 and 3 cheque *or* and *azure*, empaled by those of the See of Canterbury; and the scutcheon of the same

prelate is chiselled alone immediately opposite. The shield on the other large corbel, on the south, bears merely the arms of the See of Canterbury; opposite are carved the emblems of our Lord's Passion. From the circumstance that the armorial bearings of no other person but those of Archbishop Arundel appear on these corbels, it is concluded that the Guard Chamber at Croydon Palace owes its construction to this primate; and he is said to have

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built it in the place where before stood the principal chamber.* According to Steinman, "the other arms in this room are those of Archbishops Laud, Sheldon (*argent*, on a chevron *gules*, three sheldrakes of the first, in a canton of the second, a rose of the last), Juxon, Cranmer (*argent*, a chevron *sable*, between three cranes of the last), and Parker (*gules*, on a chevron *argent*, three mullets of the first, between four keys of the second), the arms of England (quarterly, 1 and 4, France and England empaled; 2 Scotland; 3 Ireland), and those of France and England empaled." The distinctive badges here described by the heraldist formerly adorned the windows of this chamber,† but the stained glass has now entirely disappeared.

Formerly the walls of the Guard-Chamber were panelled with oak. Near the middle of the north wall is the fireplace, having a frame above that probably once contained a painting of some kind. On the north and south sides of the chamber are windows overlooking open courts. Of the lights on the south side, one is a bay-window, it has been inserted at a later date than that of the room itself.‡

The rude DINING ROOM which extends from the Guard Chamber to the churchyard, as well as the adjoining apartments, are of brick; the ceilings of some of the chambers underneath are of wood and very low, the windows below stairs small; "and though," adds Ducarel, "they are not of the same make as those of the (now pulled down) east and west sides of the great court, yet I

* Edward Rowe Mores, M.A., F.S.A.

† Ducarel.

‡ Like the Great Hall, this Guard Chamber at present is so cut up into various compartments that it is impossible to obtain anything like a proper view of its proportions.

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take this building to be near as old, and to have been built some time in the reign of King Henry VI. It hath been so frequently repaired and altered by the several archbishops of this See, that there are at present few or no marks to ascertain the time when it was first erected. I could observe no more than two.

"The first mark ✪ below stairs in stone, in two places over the door at the bottom of the private staircase that goes into the garden.

"The second mark I took notice of was several smaller roses, thus * *, which I observed on different parts of the ceiling in the apartment adjoining to the great dining-room, which, I take it, was formerly a retiring or withdrawing room. As I do not remember to have seen these roses upon any buildings before the reign of Henry VI., I conclude they were built about that time."

Some of the underneath brick and rubble walls in this part of the old mansion are of great thickness. Where the letter D is placed (see Ground Plan, p. 308) there is an ancient narrow light, and in the same cellar, beneath the Dining-room, at the spot indicated by E, is a blocked up pointed doorway, and there is another pointed archway at F. It is possible that these dimly lighted damp vaults may at one time have served as a receptacle for some unfortunate prisoner of State, consigned to the Archbishop's custody; or, in the evil times of intolerance, they may have been appropriated to be the dungeon of a luckless Gospeller or Lollard: but the secrets of these chambers are like those of the grave. At O is a stone stair. C marks the position of an ancient flat-headed window, divided by a vertical mullion. L is a small chamber. A A and B B denote the sites of two open courts, but the area of one of these, namely, B B, is now almost

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wholly occupied by the engine-house of the factory. The subjoined cut represents an old doorway situate at N.

The LONG GALLERY forms part of the south front of the Palace; it was rebuilt by Archbishop Wake on the site of the ancient one. On the 29th of April, 1587, Sir Christopher Hatton was appointed Lord Chancellor, "at Croydon, in the Archbishop of Canterburie's house, where he received the great seale in the gallery there."* A long gallery was considered to be a necessary adjunct to the mansions of England in the olden time; the long gallery at Knole presents a perfect example, but this, at Croydon, is now divided. Structurally speaking, there is a marked difference between the workmanship in this and other more modern portions of the mansion and that executed during the fourteenth century; for this of a later period is mean in conception and not to be compared with the bold carving and timber work of the earlier time.

The large space indicated by the letter K on the Plan is said to have been occupied in later times by the Archiepiscopal Library: at the northern end of this space is a lobby, with staircase, leading into an upper chamber. J is now used as a small dining-room; on the east side is an ancient window blocked up, and on the west an old doorway communicating with I, which is used as a back kitchen.

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* Stowe's *Annals*, p. 742.

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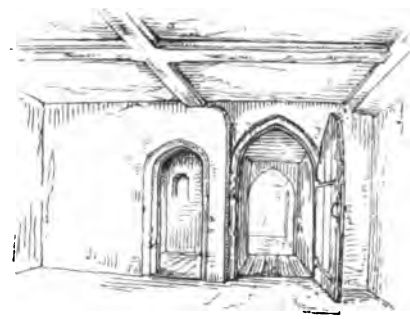
An interest attaches to the chamber marked G. Here a huge beam in the roof is cruciform in shape: on the east wall is a recess with an obtusely pointed moulded arch over it. On the south side there is a low pointed doorway, leading into H, a very small room, having, on its south wall, another recess, not unlike a piscina. Adjoining the doorway is a larger pointed archway, which admits into a passage, communicating between chambers G and J. The accompanying drawing was made from the south side of chamber G; it shows the two doorways and recess in wall of the diminutive chamber beyond. G at present is used as a kitchen, and, together with large cellars on its west, extends underneath the chapel.



The CHAPEL. Formerly there were two if not three chapels in this Palace intended for public or private use. From the Archiepiscopal registers we learn that ordinations were held in the principal chapel *in capella principali manerii de Croydon;* in the chapel of the manor of Croydon *in capella manerii de Croydon;* and in Archbishop Courtenay's register is recorded an ordination held in the private chapel, underneath the privy chamber, near the garden, lately built *jam de novo constructa.** Of the last-named chapel apparently not a vestige remains, whilst of any other chapel or chapels formerly existing here the situation is doubtful. The principal chapel and the chapel

* Fol. 251a.

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of the manor of Croydon probably were one and the same fabric, which stood on the site occupied by the present chapel.

The chapel of Croydon Palace is situated north-west of the Great Hall, close by the Old Church. It is approached from churchyard and garden by two small doorways, and a projecting stone staircase at the north-west corner of the chapel. The plan is that of a narrow oblong; the material red brick, with stone casing for doors and windows. There was formerly a small belfry at the west end. Viewed from the adjoining churchyard, the cross-keys and a cross appear wrought with black brick on its western gable.

The interior of the chapel is lit by seven windows. The east window is divided by mullions into seven plain lancet-shaped lights; the west window appears to have been formerly separated into four lights under a depressed hood. On the north side are three windows of five lancet-shaped lights each, and on the south two similar windows; none of these lights, however, are so acutely pointed as those in the larger east window. From the previously referred to published account of Archbishop Laud's trial it would appear that one at least of the windows in the chapel of Croydon Palace, probably the window over the altar, formerly contained stained glass.

The roof of wood has a depressed slope; it is divided into five compartments, each comprising twenty-four squares. The principal timbers are not supported by corbels, but merely die into the side walls. The floor underneath the east-end bay is raised. A perforated screen of oak separates the inner from an outer chapel; the walls are covered with a plain panelling.

In the south-west corner of the ante-chapel is a kind

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of gallery or pulpit of the renaissance style, overlooking the screen; and on it are emblazoned the arms of the Archiepiscopal See, empaling those of Archbishop Laud. The primate's seat on the right of entrance to choir has a canopy.

Oak benches round the chapel are faced by low solid screens, and ornamented by carving at the ends. On the knobs of these seats, at the west end of the choir, carved on various shields, are the arms of Archbishop Laud, empaled successively by those of the Sees of St. David's, Bath and Wells, London and Canterbury; of the Deanery of Gloucester; and of St. John's College, Oxford. The east end benches are adorned on both sides by the arms of Archbishop Juxon. No heraldic insignia are carved on the central seats, these having carved finials only.

A doorway under the gallery communicates with a small chamber and other apartments of the Palace, and over the chamber referred to is another room, with fireplace, reached by a small door at the back of the gallery itself: the east windows of these small chambers overlook one of the courts.

The following bishops were consecrated in the chapel of Croydon Palace:—

May 6, 1553.—John Harley, D.D., Bishop of Hereford, by Archbishop Cranmer, assisted by Nicholas (Ridley), Bishop of London, and Robert (Aldrich), Bishop of Carlisle.*

June 26, 1553.—John Taylor, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln, by the same Archbishop, assisted by Nicholas, Bishop of London, and John (Scory), Bishop of Rochester.†

August 2, 1579.—John Woolston, D.D., Bishop of Exeter, by Archbishop Grindal, assisted by John (Elmer), Bishop of London, and John (Young), Bishop of Rochester.‡

* *Reg.* CRANMER, fol. 583. † *Ibid*, fol. 335.
‡ STRYPE'S *Life of Grindal.*

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September 18, 1580.—John Watson, D.D., Bishop of Winchester, and William Overton, D.D., Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, by the same Archbishop, assisted as before.*

September, 3, 1581.—John Bullingham, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester, by the same Archbishop, assisted as before.*

August 24, 1628.—Richard Mountague, D.D., Bishop of Chichester, by William (Laud), Bishop of London, Richard (Neile), Bishop of Winton, John (Buckeridge), Bishop of Ely, and Francis (White), Bishop of Carlisle.†

September 7, 1628.—Leonard Mawe, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Walter Curll, D.D., Bishop of Rochester, by Archbishop Abbot, assisted by Richard (Neile), Bishop of Winton, John, Bishop of Ely, and Francis, Bishop of Carlisle.‡

October 24, 1630.—William Peirse, D.D., Bishop of Peterborough, by the same Archbishop, assisted by Richard, Bishop of Winton, Theophilus (Field), Bishop of St. David's, Richard (Corbet) Bishop of Oxford, and John (Bowle), Bishop of Rochester.§

The old GREENHOUSE or Vinery at the south-east corner of the mansion is now converted into a dwelling. The orchard has been cut down; the canal and all the fish-ponds have disappeared.

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* STRYPE's *Life of Grindal.*

† LAUD's *Diary*, p. 3.

‡ *Reg.* ABBOT, Part 2, fol. 156.

§ *Ibid*, fol. 23.

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Biographical.

The lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury are inseparably interwoven with the history of this Parish, since the Archbishops were lords of the manor of Croydon, and for many hundred years were accustomed occasionally to reside in their old mansion here.

Surrounded by woods, trout streams, and vineyards, as it used to be in days of yore, Croydon Palace, during a long succession of summers, afforded to the Primates of all England a very pleasant retreat from care and the multiplicity of business. Any book purporting to give an account of Croydon Palace would be incomplete without some notice being taken of those prelates who formerly resided within its walls. It is proposed, therefore, to collect together in this chapter a series of biographic sketches of the primates who are known to have lived at Croydon. There is no evidence that any of the Anglo-Saxon prelates ever had a house here, yet those Archbishops on the following list, of whom there is proof that they resided at Croydon, form a majority of the men who have occupied the See of Canterbury since the Norman Conquest. Our narrative must needs be very brief, since, otherwise viewed, in their full extent, the lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury comprise almost a history of the Church of England. It is the ecclesiastical and political importance of its former lords that so much enhances the interest attaching to this, their now deserted old manor house.

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Archbishop Lanfranc.—Lanfranc was born at Pavia, in Lombardy, about the year 1005. In early life he acquired a taste for literary and scientific pursuits. Devoting himself to the study of law, he obtained celebrity by the eloquence of his pleading.* At that time, Italy being the theatre of war between its cities and nobles, Lanfranc migrated into Normandy, where, about the year 1039, he opened a school at Avranches, and thither, attracted by his learning and eloquence, a crowd of scholars soon flocked. Acting on the impulse of a religious enthusiasm, suddenly Lanfranc threw up his office of *Magister*, and quitting the world, sought refuge in the secluded Monastery of Bec. Here, under the noble Abbot Herluin, and safe from the pollutions of Norman society, for three years Lanfranc remained in seclusion, leading an ascetic life, and giving instruction to the monks indoors, while Herluin directed their labours in the field. Lanfranc set himself to study the Holy Scriptures, breaking up, as his biographer tells us, the fallow ground of his heart, weeping as he read.† It soon become noised abroad that the famous master of Avranches had reappeared in the *Scholasticus* of Bec, and sons of princes and nobles again hastened to sit at the feet of Lanfranc. The few huts which hitherto had formed the residence of the monks were now multiplied, until this accommodation proving also insufficient, at length the foundation was laid of one of the most celebrated monasteries of Western Europe; and in this establishment the good Abbot Herluin assigned to Lanfranc the office of Prior.

Duke William of Normandy had contracted a marriage with his cousin Matilda, daughter of the Earl of Flanders;

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* *Ordericus Vitalis*, Lib. IV., c. 6. † *Vita.*

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but the union was within the then prohibited degrees of consanguinity. By skilful negotiation at Rome, however, Lanfranc obtained the Pope's sanction to this marriage, and thus acquiring the friendship of William, in 1066 the Duke appointed him Abbot of his newly erected Abbey of St. Stephen's, at Caen. In 1067 he was elected to the Archbishopric of Rouen, but he refused the office. Upon the removal of the Anglo-Saxon Stigand, and at the earnest solicitation of William, now King of England, Lanfranc accepted the Archbishopric of Canterbury: his consecration took place on the 29th of August, 1070.

Lanfranc became the adviser of the Conqueror. "We are to attribute," says Dean Hook, "the ecclesiastical polity of William the Conqueror, to a considerable extent, to the advice, the influence, and the wisdom of Lanfranc. Lanfranc's resistance to the Papal aggression was the result of that ecclesiastical system of which he had already laid the foundation. He laid down the fundamental principles of the Church of England during the Anglo-Norman period, which the successors of the Conqueror endeavoured to enforce, and which some of the most distinguished of the successors of Lanfranc, such as Anselm and Becket, endeavoured to put aside."* Lanfranc had no desire to exalt the Church above the State; he was loyal to the King, whose supremacy he upheld: yet by introducing the continental system of separating the Ecclesiastical Court from the Civil, both William and Lanfranc fell into a serious error.

Besides the re-organization of the Church, which, owing to the ignorance of the clergy, and to the ransacking of

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* *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, by Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D. Vol. II., p. 143.

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the monasteries and plundering of Church lands by ruthless adventurers, was in a sad state of confusion, Lanfranc rebuilt the cathedral and episcopal palace at Canterbury. Over his household he placed the celebrated monk-architect, Gundulf, who afterwards became Bishop of Rochester.

Lanfranc was a munificent promoter of the formation of libraries. Not only Caen and Canterbury, but also the Scriptorium of St. Albans was indebted to him for many valuable manuscripts. Much of his time when in England was employed in correcting the copies of the Scriptures and the Fathers found in the Anglo-Saxon monasteries, which were not always accurately transcribed.*

On the demise of the Conqueror, Lanfranc was one of the chief instruments of assisting Rufus to the Crown, to the prejudice of his elder brother, Robert Curthose.

Lanfranc "may be considered," says a learned writer, "the father of Latin literature in England during the ages which followed."† His principal work is a treatise against Berengarius of Tours, written A.D. 1079—80. Berengarius stoutly opposed the then recently introduced doctrine of transubstantiation, of which Lanfranc had become a vehement advocate. Many regard Lanfranc as the first author of the Scholastic theology.‡ "But, however exalted he might be as a teacher, Lanfranc was by no means distinguished as a theologian. His writings show that he was not a man of genius; he was deficient in original thought, and had none of the metaphysical depth,

* *Rapports sur les Bibliothèques des Départements de l'Ouest*, p. 117.

† *Biog. Brit. Lit. Anglo-Norman Period*, by T. WRIGHT, M.A.

‡ *Mosheim Eccl. Hist.*, by SOAMES. Ed. 1850. Vol. II., p. 350.

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united with a power of analysis, which is so conspicuous in his successor, Anselm."*

This prelate died on the 28th of May, 1089, and was buried at Canterbury. "Lanfranc's death," says Palgrave, "was mourned as the heaviest loss which could befall England. Lanfranc had been placed over the British Churches, an alien, yet he lived to become the protector of the English people. Strange in blood to the Norman, strange in blood to the Englishman, both now loved him as their kinsman; his station and disposition combined to render him the mediator between the conquerors and the subjugated."†

It was this person whom, when they were compiling that great national record, *Domesday Book*, the Norman scribe entered as Lord of the Manor of Croydon.

ANSELM, 1093—1109.
RALPH OF ESCURES, 1114—1122.
WILLIAM OF CORBEUIL, 1123—1136.
THEOBALD, 1139—1161.
THOMAS À BECKET, 1162—1170.
RICHARD, 1174—1184.
BALDWIN, 1185—1190.
REGINALD FITZ-JOCELIN, 1191.‡
HUBERT WALTER, 1193—1205.
STEPHEN LANGTON, 1207—1228.
RICHARD GRANT, 1229—1234.
EDMUND RICH, 1234—1240.
BONIFACE OF SAVOY, 1245—1270.

The Archiepiscopates of these prelates embrace a period of nearly two hundred years. It is probable that some of them occasionally visited their manor house at Croydon, but owing

* Dr. HOOK.

† *History of England and Normandy*, by Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. Book IV., c. II.

‡ His Archiepiscopate lasted only twenty-nine days.

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to the loss of their Registers the fact cannot now be proved.

During the long interval that elapsed between the decease of Lanfranc and the accession of Robert Kilwardby, a momentous change took place in relation to English society. The hostile blood of the Normans and the Saxons was gradually blending. The descendants of those barons, who, during the earlier reigns of the Anglo-Norman monarchs, sallied from their turreted dens of infamy to oppress all round, discovered that the subjugated race with themselves had a common interest in curbing the tyranny of a bad king; and, by their united exertions, the Great Charter had been won. That Papal system the Norman Conquest had rivetted more firmly upon England, which interfered with the rights of our princes and clashed with the working of the civil power, was becoming relaxed. In short, the feudal system was breaking up; and light, emitted from the East through the Crusades, coruscated amid Dark Ages, ere steadily dawning into the modern civilization.

Robert Kilwardby.—Of the birthplace and parentage of Robert Kilwardby nothing is known, but he is said to have been an Englishman. Educated at Oxford, from thence he proceeded to Paris, where he graduated in Arts, and then returning to Oxford, Kilwardby entered a house belonging to the Dominicans.*

* In the Middle Ages the monks were at once missionaries and labourers. The Benedictines were the cultivators of the soil, and the Cistercians the growers of wool. In exchange for the produce of the soil and the flock, the trader appeared at the Abbey gate, and the first

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In the days of Kilwardby the task of evangelizing the people was mainly undertaken by the Mendicant Orders, the Regular, that is, the monks, and Secular, namely, the parochial clergy, having become either unwilling, or incompetent, to the task. To the Mendicant class belonged the Dominicans, Friars Preachers or Black Friars, as they were called by way of distinction from the Franciscans or Grey Friars, the Carmelites or White Friars, and the Augustines or Austin Friars. At their first institution the Dominicans were the self-denying and fearless denouncers of sin; and afterwards, the members of this fraternity took their place among men of learning at the University. But passing from lazar-house to the sick chamber in the Castle, these crafty beggars interfered with the wills of nobles, and, amassing enormous wealth, eventually they became steeped in corruption.

As a Dominican, Robert Kilwardby attached himself to the study of theology at Oxford, and having taken his degrees, he taught in the schools: ultimately he was

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fairs came to be held within the precincts of the Abbey. To facilitate the purchase of their crops and wool, the monks repaired the roads and erected bridges. The power of an Abbot within his Abbey was almost despotic. He rode with a hawk on his fist, and was followed by a retinue of a hundred horse. The Abbots of the great monastic establishments, with all their affiliated institutions, denied the right either of State or Bishop to interfere with their government, and by spending money freely at Rome, the Pope granted them an exemption from every jurisdiction saving his own. In process of time the monasteries came to be regarded as foreign institutions, and this paved the way for their suppression.

In the year 1264 no less than 64 Abbots and 36 Priors sat as Spiritual Lords in the English Parliament, by virtue of the territorial endowments of their houses.

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elected Provincial of his Order, an office he retained for eleven years. Devoted to the interests of the See of Rome, this learned friar, on the 26th of February, 1273, was advanced to the chair of Augustine, vacant by the death of Boniface. Archbishop Kilwardby officiated at the coronation in August, 1274, of King Edward I. and Eleanor his Queen, then recently returned from the Holy Land; and in the same year he also attended the great Council of Lyons. For a splendid chapel in their magnificent range of monastic buildings, the site of which is still known as Blackfriars, the Dominicans were indebted to the munificence of Kilwardby.

In 1273 Archbishop Kilwardby obtained a grant of a market to be held every Wednesday at Croydon;* and in 1276 he also obtained for this town a grant of a fair to be held for nine days, beginning on the Vigil of St. Botolph the Abbot, that is to say, on the 16th of May.†

This prelate was a voluminous writer.‡ On being nominated a Cardinal by Pope Nicolas III., Kilwardby resigned his Archbishopric, and went to Rome, carrying with him a large sum of money, and also, it is said, the registers of all the Archbishops who had preceded him in the See of Canterbury. The difficulty in proving that Kilwardby's predecessors resided at Croydon is mainly owing to this abstraction of their registers. Kilwardby survived his resignation only a few months, being poisoned, it was suspected, at Viterbo in 1279.

JOHN DE PECKHAM was born in Sussex about the year

* *Cart.* 5. Ed. I., m. 24. † *Cart.* 5. Ed. I., m. 24.

‡ TANNER, *Bibliothec. Brit.*, 456.

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1240, and probably received the rudiments of that learning for which he afterwards became distinguished at the Cluniac Monastery of Lewes. At an early age he went to Oxford, where his name occurs in the register of Merton College; and, in accordance with the fashion of that age, he completed his studies at the University of Paris. Returning to Oxford, Peckham engaged in the labours of tuition, until he embraced the profession of a Minorite or Franciscan brother. John Peckham now formed one of that phalanx of learned friars who successfully laboured to make Oxford famous among the schools of Europe. Various of his poems and treatises, on perspective and other subjects, are still extant.* In course of time, Peckham became provincial minister of the Franciscan Order in England, and removed to London, where he presided over the large establishment of the Grey Friars. He visited Rome. Happening to be there when Kilwardby arrived to assume his place in the Curia as a Cardinal, the Pope appointed Peckham to the vacant See of Canterbury; a proceeding which, singular to relate, was not resented by Edward I. But that monarch soon discovered the impolicy of permitting a friar to occupy the Archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury. "Peckham," writes his biographer, "was not a true-hearted Englishman, and was invariably engaged in furthering the interests of the Pope, in opposition to those of the King of England and the country."† The newly appointed Archbishop convened a synod or convocation at Reading, without previously obtaining the Royal permission, and there passed a number of constitu-

* Some poems in MSS. of this Archbishop are preserved in the University Library at Cambridge. TANNER, 584.

† *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, by Dean HOOK.

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tions to the prejudice of the ancient rights and customs of the realm: Edward I., however, soon compelled the Archbishop to revoke the obnoxious clauses. Advised by his Chancellor, the great and wise Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the King also passed the celebrated Statute of Mortmain, which, under pain of forfeiture to the King or chief lord, prohibited gifts of land to religious houses;—a necessary measure, since the religious houses, by means of such bequests, were gradually obtaining possession of the fairest portion of England, to the serious detriment of the King, to whom, as feudal lord, lands alienated to the Church no longer rendered that military service which otherwise was inseparably attached to the estate of every noble. In spite of Peckham's opposition King Edward passed this, and also the Statute *Circumspecte Agatis*, which defined the boundaries between the Temporal and Spiritual jurisdictions.

Peckham was a stern disciplinarian, but although harsh and intolerant, to his credit he did not take a prominent part in that cruel persecution of the Jews which disgraced the latter portion of the reign of Edward I.

It has been already mentioned that this prelate frequently resided at Croydon. Archbishop Peckham died on the 8th of December, 1292.

Robert Winchelsey, according to tradition, was born of humble parentage at Winchelsea, in Sussex, towards the middle of the reign of Henry III. At an early age he was admitted into Canterbury School, and proceeded thence to Paris, where he so distinguished himself that he was appointed Rector of the University. Upon his return

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to England he entered Merton College, Oxford, and at length became Chancellor of Oxford. On the death of Archbishop Peckham, in accordance with the wish of King Edward I., Robert Winchelsey was unanimously elected by the prior and convent of Canterbury to fill the vacant See. He received his pall at Rome from the Pope, and having travelled homewards to England, the enthronement of the new primate was solemnly celebrated in Canterbury Cathedral, on the 2nd of October, 1294. It was a splendid spectacle: the King, attended by his great earls and barons, being present. Between two prelates the Archbishop came forth preceded by cross-bearer, and vested in his pontifical habit, with pall and mitre, and carrying the pastoral staff. His rich vestments twinkled with jewels, from his mitre light sparkled from every variety of precious stone. Having seated his Grace upon the patriarchal throne, the prior said aloud, "In the name of God, Amen. By His authority, I, Henry, Prior of His Church of Canterbury, enthrone thee, Lord Robert, Archbishop in this Church of Canterbury. May thy admission be blessed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and may His blessing abide with thee now and for ever. Amen."* The proceedings, according to custom, terminated by a sumptuous banquet in the Great Hall at Canterbury.

Archbishop Robert was profuse in his hospitality, and exercised an almost boundless charity towards the poor. Like various of his predecessors, however, he was thoroughly un-English. His was a divided allegiance, and he preferred the Pope of Rome to the King of

* A record of the proceedings at the election and enthronization of Winchelsey was preserved at Canterbury and Lambeth, and formed the model for such ceremonials from the 13th to the 16th century.

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England. At the convocation, held at St. Paul's, in 1297, he published the Bull *Clericus Laicos*, which forbade the clergy, under pain of excommunication, to make any grant to laymen without the Pope's consent. The clergy, in trepidation at this announcement, sided, some with the Archbishop, others, more loyal, felt inclined to resist both Primate and Pope. King Edward I. met this new aggression by a judgment of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the practical effect of which soon convinced the waverers that, if any class of his subjects shrank from bearing their share in the common burden, from them the protection of the law should be withdrawn. Winchelsey's leaning towards the Pope at length even involved him in treason against the King of England.

It was towards the close of Winchelsey's primacy that the cruel suppression of the Order of Knights Templars occurred.

Archbishop Winchelsey died at Otford on the 11th of May, 1313.

Walter Reynolds, who afterwards became Primate of all England, was the son of a baker, and was born at Windsor. Engaging with distinction as a lawyer in the King's Courts in London, he was selected by Edward I. to be tutor, friend, and adviser to the young prince, his son; to whom, in time, Reynolds also became Keeper of the Wardrobe, and Treasurer. To the differences which sprang up between the monarch and his foolish son we may, perhaps, impute the circumstance that Reynolds obtained no further appointment from Edward I., yet, no sooner had Edward II. arrived at the crown, than a

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shower of preferments descended on this favourite. In 1307 Reynolds became Treasurer of the Exchequer, and shortly afterwards he was elected Bishop of Worcester. In 1310 he was appointed Chancellor: early in 1314 he was enthroned Archbishop of Canterbury. It happened, however, that in this year the English suffered a most disastrous defeat at Bannockburn, and on the 26th of September Reynolds finally resigned the great Seal.* It was a season of very great confusion and misery.

In 1314 Archbishop Reynolds obtained a grant of a market to be held at Croydon on Thursday, and a fair to be held here on the vigil and morrow of St. Matthew's Day.†

In mediating between the imbecile king and his barons, the Archbishop appears to have acted with discretion; until perplexed, he espoused the side of Queen Isabella, and acquiesced in that revolution which deposed Edward. Archbishop Reynolds even officiated at the coronation of the young King Edward III. during the lifetime of his father. He died at Mortlake in 1327, and, like his predecessors, was buried at Canterbury.

Simon Mepeham, 1328—1333.—There is no certain evidence that either this or any of the three succeeding prelates ever resided at Croydon.

John Stratford, 1333—1348.—Archbishop Stratford, in 1343, obtained a grant for a market to be held at Croydon on Saturday, and a fair on the feast of St. John the Baptist.‡

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* *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, by Lord Campbell.

† *Cart.* 8. Ed. II., m. 15.

‡ Ryley, p. 586.

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THOMAS BRADWARDINE, 1349.

SIMON ISLIP, 1349—1366.—Archbishop Islip, on the 18th of February, 1352, granted to Robert Farnham and William Chober, for the term of their natural lives, a messuage and nine acres of land in Croydon, which had escheated to him upon the death of John Latyn, Silvestria his wife, and their son William, to whom a similar grant of the premises had formerly been made by Archbishop Stratford.* And on the 22nd of February, 1362, the same prelate granted to Thomas de Kendale a messuage and nine acres of land, with their appurtenances, in Croydon, which escheated to him on the demise of the before-named John Latyn, Silvestria his wife, and William their son, for a hundred years, at an annual rental of ten shillings.†

SIMON LANGHAM appears to have been born at Langham, in Rutlandshire, but of his early life nothing is known. That he was possessed of a great fortune is however evident, from the immense sums of money he devoted to St. Peter's, Westminster, of which monastery he became first a monk, and afterwards successively prior and abbot. The important architectural works carried on at Westminster Abbey, in Langham's day, attest the interest this abbot took in the affairs of his monastery.

The merits of Langham recommending him to the notice of Edward III., in 1360 he was appointed Treasurer of England. In 1362 he was consecrated Bishop of Ely, and in the following year he became Lord High Chancellor. During Langham's tenure of office, as Chancellor, his Royal master having received information that the Pope,

* *Reg.* ISLIP, fol. 44a. † *Cart. Miscell.*, Vol. X., No. 20.

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on the ground that King John had done homage to him for England and Ireland, intended to proceed against the King of England, in order to recover service and tribute; Edward III. prayed the prelates and great men assembled in the Parliament of 1366 to give him their counsel and advice. The decision of the prelates, dukes, earls, and barons, was:—"That neither King John, nor any other king, had any power to place himself, his realm, or his people under such thraldom, without their assent and accord;" and this, having been laid before the House of Commons, was affirmed with a patriotic unanimity. Just at this juncture, John Wiclif, the reformer, appeared; he became one of the King's Chaplains during the Chancellorship of Langham.

In 1366 Simon Langham was translated to the See of Canterbury, but soon after, on the Pope's advancing him to be a Cardinal, the King, considering that Langham had ceased to be Archbishop, seized the temporalities of the See.

Cardinal Langham died at Avignon in 1376.

WILLIAM WHITTLESEY was nephew to Archbishop Islip, and received his education at Cambridge, where he became "Custos," or Master of Peterhouse. He devoted himself to the study of the Canon Law, and, accordingly, became a student also in the Papal Courts at Avignon. Having returned to England, Whittlesey was appointed Judge of the Court of Arches, Rector of Croydon, and Archdeacon of Huntingdon. In 1361 his uncle gave him the Bishopric of Rochester; in 1364 he was translated to Worcester. Whittlesey is said to have been a man of

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commanding presence, eloquent and discreet. In 1368 he became Archbishop of Canterbury; but soon after his elevation he became a confirmed invalid, and for two out of the six years of his primacy he was confined to his house. He died on the 6th of June, 1374.

Simon Sudbury acquired his surname from the place of his nativity, Sudbury, in Suffolk. He did not study long at the English Universities, for his parents, intending him to be a Canon lawyer, sent him to France and Italy. At length, Simon's legal attainments attracted the notice of Innocent VI., who became his patron. In a mandate of Edward III. he is designated "Maistre Symonde Sudbury, auditeur de palays de pape, being a man of great wisdom, learning, and eloquence."* Sudbury early attached himself to the party of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, at whose court he met Geoffrey Chaucer, "the morning star of English poetry," and John Wiclif, "the Gospel-Doctor." In 1360 Simon became Chancellor of Salisbury: and on the 20th of March, 1362, he was consecrated Bishop of London at St. Paul's Cathedral, the illustrious founder of New College, Oxford, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, officiating on the occasion. On the 6th of April, 1376, Sudbury was enthroned at Canterbury Primate of All England.

Broken-hearted at the loss of his son, the Black Prince, King Edward III. died in June, 1377. He was succeeded by his grandson, Richard II., then only in the twelfth year of his age; at whose solemn coronation Archbishop Sudbury acted a principal part.

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* N. Fœdera, iii. 402.

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It was usual in that age for the various offices of State to be filled by ecclesiastics, whom the King consulted in every emergency. The post of Prime Minister, as we now call it, was then commonly occupied by a prelate. Clerics sat in the council and on the judicial bench, they acted either as lawyers or diplomatists; for the time had not yet arrived when the diplomatist, the lawyer, and the physician could earn a livelihood in their respective professions, independently of the assistance they derived from holding the preferments of the Church. The legal and diplomatic talents of Sudbury being of a high order, he was accordingly appointed Lord Chancellor, and on the 4th of July, 1379, received the Great Seal.*

But educated and long resident in France, this created in England a prejudice against Sudbury, who, in consequence, never was popular. He was placed, moreover, in an awkward predicament by the circumstance that there were now two popes, each claiming to be the infallible successor of Peter; Clement VII. acknowledged by France and Scotland, and Urban VI. who was received as the legitimate pope by England and other countries. The rival pontiffs mutually fulminated their anathemas against each other. Meanwhile the sad condition of the Church of England appears from the remonstrance against papal exactions which Parliament had addressed to the King in the preceding year. It affirmed "that the brokers of that sinful city (Rome), for money, promote many caitiffs, being altogether unlearned and unworthy, to a thousand marcs living yearly, whereas the learned and worthy can hardly obtain twenty marcs; whereby learning decayeth. That aliens, enemies to this land, who never saw, nor care to see

* *Rot. Claus.*, 3 Rich. II., m. 22.

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their parishioners, have those livings; whereby they despise God's service, and convey away the treasure of the realm, and are worse than Jews or Saracens," etc. In their opposition to the papacy, Sudbury appears rather to have opposed himself to the clergy of England, and inclined towards the pope.

The country also was disturbed, owing partly to discontent engendered by the loss of the King of England's French possessions, and the financial difficulties of the country; but chiefly to that intolerable state of bondage into which the sons of the soil were now fearing to fall. According to the feudal system, the villein, in return for certain works he was obliged to perform to his superior, found a home on the estate of the noble, and could rely upon the sword of his lord for protection; and so long as the baron lived in his feudal stronghold, the peasant might revel in the Castle Hall, or follow his chieftain to the chase. But kingly and baronial rule in Sudbury's time were undergoing a change; and a middle class was springing up, consisting of merchants and burgesses, who, having made money, were investing it in land, by buying up the estates of the nobles. This new class of proprietors alleged that they had bought the land subject to all its rights of villeinage. The villein was not free to remove from the soil as he liked, they said, since he formed a portion of the chattels of their new purchased property. It is, therefore, not much to be wondered at that, finding the door of the Old Baronial Hall closed against them, an oppressed peasantry, to prevent themselves sinking into hopeless slavery, rebelled against this new regime, or that they viewed with a peculiar hatred those pettifoggers who had drawn up the title deeds of their citizen masters. A popular insurrection was the consequence,

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and to it the unlucky Archbishop of Canterbury fell a victim.

In 1380, Sudbury, as Chancellor, presided over the Parliament which decreed the oppressive poll-tax; and, at once, the country rose in rebellion. Alarmed at the information that came in from Kent and all quarters, the King, accompanied by his Chancellor, and other great officers of State, for security, removed to the Tower. Meanwhile, the rioters, after pillaging the Archiepiscopal Palace at Canterbury, marched with Wat Tyler at their head towards London, levelling, as they went, every house belonging either to the Archbishop or to the obnoxious lawyers. Encamped on Blackheath, the insurgents sent to claim an audience with the King, to which, acting on the advice of his council, Richard II. acceded, but the interview serving only to exasperate the insurgents, they entered London, destroyed the Savoy, and rifled of money the houses of the Lombards.

Sir William Walworth was Lord Mayor.

At length, an infuriated mob, vowing vengeance against the Chancellor, surrounded the Tower. On the morning of the 14th of June, 1381, they burst into the Chapel, when, pinioning the arms of the unfortunate Archbishop, with savage exultation they dragged him to execution upon Tower Hill. He met his fate like a Christian hero, although his sufferings must have been terrible, as the cruel bungler who handled the axe, hit the prelate no less than eight times ere death ended his sufferings. The insurgents then placed the Archbishop's head upon a long pole, and stuck it up on London Bridge, where it remained for nearly a week, until the Lord Mayor substituted for it the head of Wat the Tiler.

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Such was the tragical end of Simon, Lord of the Manor of Croydon.

It was Archbishop Sudbury who commenced the rebuilding of the glorious nave of Canterbury Cathedral.

WILLIAM COURTENAY was the fourth son of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and Margaret, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford: his mother was a granddaughter of King Edward I. Born at Exeter, about the year 1342, on leaving his ancestral home he went to Oxford, where he graduated in law. In 1367 he was elected Chancellor, and, in the controversy between the University and the Mendicant Orders, took part against the Friars; for these, setting up a different interest, and aiming at a distinct jurisdiction, were become very troublesome neighbours to the University. The Friars also had introduced much confusion into various parishes by denouncing the parochial clergy. Dr. Courtenay's proceedings against the Mendicants were supported by Wiclif. In his treatise "Against able Beggary," explaining the wide difference between the poverty of Christ and that of the Friars, this witty scholar had severely lashed the Mendicants, and shown that, so far from their being objects of charity, in reality they were lazy impostors wallowing in luxury.

In 1369 Courtenay became Bishop of Hereford, and, as such, vigorously denounced in Convocation the exactions of the Court of Rome. To the See of London, Bishop Courtenay was translated in 1375.

Courtenay, in the early portion of his career, resisted Romish aggression; now, however, he showed his sub-

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serviency to the Pope by citing Wiclif to appear before him in St. Paul's Cathedral, to answer for his opinions; and, attended by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percy, Earl Marshal of England, the Reformer obeyed the summons. On this occasion the Earl Marshal took upon himself to order a seat to be provided for Dr. Wiclif, observing that, as he had many questions to answer, he would need a soft seat. The Bishop replied that it was contrary to law and reason that a clerk cited before his ordinary should be seated during his trial, adding, that if he could have guessed the Earl Marshal would have played the master there, or been so troublesome, he would not have suffered him to come into the court. On which many angry words passed between the Bishop and the Earl. John of Gaunt took Lord Percy's side, and told the Bishop that his motion was but reasonable, and pointing to Courtenay, he continued, "as for thee who art grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride not only of thee but of all the prelacy of England; thou bearest thyself so brag upon thy parentage, but they shall not be able to help thee." To this threat the Bishop mildly rejoined, "My confidence is not in my parents, nor in man, but only in God: by His assistance I shall be bold to speak as I ought to speak, and to maintain the truth." But this soft answer did not, it seems, cool the Duke's passion, who highly resented the Bishop's telling the Earl Marshal that, if he had been aware of his behaviour, in opposing the authority and orders of the court, he would not have suffered him to come into it with Dr. Wiclif. To one, therefore, who sat by him the Duke muttered that, rather than take what the Bishop had said at his hands he would pluck him by the hair of his head out of the Church. These last words were not whispered

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so closely but that some of the standers by overheard them, and occasioned the assembly to grow tumultuous, so that the Court broke up without doing anything.*

Notwithstanding this outrageous conduct of the Duke, not long afterwards the Bishop interposed his influence with the Londoners, and prevented them burning down John of Gaunt's Palace in the Savoy.

Upon the murder of the unfortunate Sudbury, the popular Bishop of London was chosen to succeed him as Archbishop of Canterbury. Soon after receiving the Royal assent to his election Courtenay accepted the Great Seal, and as Chancellor opened the Parliament which met on November 4th, 1381. He officiated likewise at the marriage of King Richard II. to Anne of Bohemia, and shortly afterwards the young Queen was anointed and crowned by him in Westminster Abbey. She was long remembered in England by the name of the *good Queen Anne*.

Archbishop Courtenay received his pall with great ceremony at his Manor of Croydon, from the hands of the Bishop of London, on the 4th of May, 1382.

A man of the highest rank, courteous and munificent, Archbishop Courtenay, unlike his predecessor, was endeared to the people. As a scholar, however, he was not distinguished, nor was he a theologian, his talents being such as to adapt him for an active rather than a studious life. After he became Primate he again prosecuted Wiclif: and he enforced the arrest of those whom he chose to call heretical preachers. To Courtenay belongs the discredit of having been the first to adopt the principle

* Lewis's *Life of Wicliffe*, p. 53, Lond., 1720.

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of visiting spiritual offences with temporal penalties.* He evinced firmness of character in his treatment of the Bishop of Salisbury. This prelate opposed the Archbishop's visitation of his diocese, and by payment of a heavy fee had procured from Pope Boniface an exemption from metropolitan visitation. With the instrument of exemption he waited upon Courtenay, at Croydon, but the primate roundly told him that the diocese of Salisbury he would visit, notwithstanding any papal exemption, and visit it accordingly he did.

Among other donations, Courtenay gave to the high altar at Canterbury a costly image of the Holy Trinity, with six of the Apostles in silver gilt, and a very valuable cope. He also contributed one thousand marks towards the rebuilding of the nave of Canterbury Cathedral. Reference has been made to the changes that took place at the manor house at Croydon during the lifetime of this prelate; and to Archbishop Courtenay has been assigned the credit of commencing that alteration in the architectural character of the Old Parish Church of Croydon, which resulted in its becoming what is technically known as a Perpendicular structure.

He died in 1396.†

THOMAS ARUNDEL, descending from the Norman nobles, Fitz-Alan and Albini, was third son of the illustrious Richard Fitz-Alan, Lord of Arundel Castle, who commanded the Second Division of the English Army at

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* HOOK'S *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. IV., p. 353.

† For an account of the great house of Courtney or Courtenay, see GIBBON'S *Roman Empire*, ch. lxi.

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Cressy; and Eleanor, daughter of Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster. He was born about the year 1352, and studied at Oxford. At the early age of twenty-one this scion of a great house was made Archdeacon of Taunton, when twenty-two he became Bishop of Ely. During the lifetime of Edward III. the bishop did not busy himself much in public affairs, yet after the accession of Richard II. his name frequently occurs in the rolls of Parliament. Arundel became one of the leaders of the Duke of Gloucester's party, and, in company with this Royal Duke, waited on the King at Eltham, to lay before him the wishes of both Houses of Parliament. The insincere King, bent on alienating himself from his people, and violating the laws of the realm, pretended to yield to the will of Parliament, and on the resignation of Michael de la Pole, the Great Seal was entrusted to Thomas Arundel. A restraint also was now placed upon the King's extravagant expenditure. The infatuated monarch determined, however, to restore his favourites to power, and, in consequence, civil war broke out between Gloucester's party and the King.

In 1388 Arundel was translated to the See of York; it was the year in which the battle of Otterburn was fought between the English and the Scots.

A reaction now took place in favour of King Richard, and Arundel resigned the Great Seal into the hands of William of Wykeham: but for a second time it was confided to Arundel on the 27th of September, 1391. In 1396 he was translated from York to Canterbury, the crozier being presented to him in Westminster Abbey by the Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, in presence of Richard II. and an august assemblage of nobles.

As Archbishop of Canterbury Arundel officiated at the

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marriage between the King of England and his second Queen, the young Isabel of France.

Determined to be revenged upon Gloucester's party, Richard II., by means of his sheriffs, who falsified the returns, having secured an obsequious parliament, arrested and put to death the Earl of Arundel, brother of the Archbishop, and banished the latter. On his way to Rome the Archbishop was waylaid and nearly murdered, at the instigation, as it was suspected, of the King. Pope Boniface declared Arundel to be Bishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, a country where the authority of the rival pope only was acknowledged, and complying with the King of England, he appointed Roger Walden to the vacant See of Canterbury. Arundel retired to Florence, and watched the progress of events. At length the news reached him that his kinsman, Henry Bolinbroke, Duke of Hereford, the son of John of Gaunt, and the most popular man in England, had also fallen a victim to the capricious despotism of Richard II. The exiles took counsel together, when, having concerted their plan, in company with Bolinbroke, and attended by a mere handful of knights, with a small body of archers, at the risk of his life, the Archbishop landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, where, raising the standard of revolt, at length that revolution was accomplished which terminated in the solemn deposition of King Richard II., and the placing, by the hand of Archbishop Arundel, of the crown of England upon the head of Henry IV. on the 13th of October, 1399.

Faithful to Henry IV. Arundel accepted the office of Lord High Chancellor in 1407, and again in 1412. "Thus did he hold the highest judicial office of the realm no less than five times. . . . . We want little further evidence

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to show that he must have been a man of great vigour and capacity for business."*

From the moment of his return to England Archbishop Arundel resumed the functions of the primacy, and never in any way acknowledged the usurpation of Walden.

On the 30th of November, 1412, James I., of Scotland, signed at Croydon a deed of general confirmation to Sir William Douglas, of Drumlanrig, which runs as follows:—

"Jamis, throu the grace of God Kynge of Scottis, Till all that this lettre heris or seis sendis gretynge. Wit ze that we have grauntit, and be this presentis lettres grauntis a speciall confirmatin in the maiste forme till oure traiste and wele belofit cosyng Sir William of Douglas of Drumlanrig of all the landis that he is possessit and chartrit of within the kyngdome of Scotlande, that is for to say, the landis of Drumlanrig, of Hawyke, and of Selkirke; the whilkis chartris and possessiouns be this lettre we conferme, and wil for the mare sekernes this oure confimatioune be formabilli efter the fourme of oure Chaunsellure, and the tenor of his chartris, selit with our grete sele in tyme to come. In witnes of the whilkis this presentis lettres we wrate with our propre hande under the signet usit in selyng of our lettres as now at Croidoune the last daie of November, the zer of our Lorde I^{mo}·CCCC°XIJ°."†

The unfortunate prince who granted the above, having been captured on his voyage to France in the eleventh year of his age, was detained a prisoner in England fourteen years. When he signed this document the King was about eighteen years old, and evidently at Croydon Palace, in the custody of Archbishop Arundel. Distinguished by mental gifts, highly cultivated by the best teachers that England could produce, eventually James the First of Scotland was murdered at Perth in 1437.

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* *The Judges of England*, etc., by EDWARD FOSS, F.S.A.

† This grant is preserved in facsimile in ANDERSON'S *Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus.*

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Archbishop Arundel cruelly persecuted the Lollards; he even went so far as to request of the Pope that the body of Wiclif might be exhumed and buried in a dunghill; but, for the present, the infamous proposal was deferred. Arundel also was a consenting party to the passing of the Statute, "*De Hæretico comburendo*," under which execrable act he adjudged to the flames John Badby, of Evesham, Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), and many other believers in Christ.

He died in 1414, and was interred in the Cathedral at Canterbury, towards the rebuilding of the nave of which he also had munificently contributed.

Of Roger Walden, who for two years occupied the Archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury during Arundel's exile, proof is wanting that he lived at Croydon.

Henry Chicheley was originally a shepherd boy of Higham Ferrers, and rose to become Metropolitan of England through the advantages of an education extended to him by William of Wykeham. About 1362-63 has been assigned as the date of his birth, and the year 1373 for his admission to Winchester School: from Winchester in due course he proceeded to New College, Oxford, where he became a Fellow and took his degrees. Chicheley studied law, yet depending on the Church for support he was ordained. On the presentation of the Prior and Convent of Colchester he obtained the Rectory of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and becoming legal adviser to the Bishop of Salisbury he received as his remuneration numerous other preferments. In 1402 the Pope retained him as a lawyer. It was usual in those days for prelates

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to be politicians, and accordingly Chicheley was employed on various embassies and affairs of State by Henry IV. In 1408 he became Bishop of St. David's, and was one of the delegates chosen to represent the Church of England at the Œcumenical Synod of Pisa, wherein the two rival reigning Popes were deposed, and solemnly excommunicated, and the Papacy being then declared vacant, a new Pope was elected by the Cardinals, who henceforth occupied the chäir of St. Peter, under the title of Alexander V.

Chicheley became the friend and adviser of King Henry V., upon whose recommendation he was unanimously elected by the Chapter of Canterbury to the Metropolitan See in A.D. 1414. To his Royal patron in the war with France the Archbishop lent a substantial aid, and the activity was great throughout the kingdom while Chicheley remained practically at the head of the government. At his request the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury patriotically undertook to guard the south-coast. When the splendid fleet sailed majestically from the shores of England the Archbishop bestowed on it his benediction, and loud were the rejoicings at the news of the surrender of Harfleur. But when it became known that the gallant knights and skilled bowmen of the English army, fearfully weakened by dysentery, were struggling to return homewards, and, their navy dispersed, that the little force was confronted by the French monarch's well appointed host, the anxiety of the English government was great. At an early hour on Tuesday, the 29th of October, 1415, the news reached Chicheley at Lambeth that the battle of Agincourt had been fought and won. The primate met the victorious King at Canterbury, and afterwards at London, where, amid indescribable enthusiasm, a solemn *Te Deum* was

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sung both at St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey; and Convocation conferred new honours on St. George, the patron saint of England, and on St. John of Beverly for fighting, as it was supposed, at Agincourt, on the English side.

Concurring in the opinion that a general Council was superior to the Pope, but equally determined in the resolution to put down by fire and faggot any attempt at doctrinal reformation, Chicheley co-operated with the Emperor Sigismund, and in the truce now made with France acted as one of the Commissioners. On the renewal of the war he was present with Henry V. when he made his public entry into the city of Rouen;* he remained with the army while the English King rapidly extended his conquests over Normandy and Brittany. When peace was signed in 1420 Henry married the Princess Katherine, and at her coronation Chicheley officiated. He baptized the infant heir to the English Crown in 1421, and when, not long after, to the grief of the nation, Henry died in France, Chicheley consigned the body of the hero-King to its grave in Westminster Abbey.

As a proof of this prelate's assiduity in the performance of his duty, he is said to have convened eighteen synods or assemblies of the clergy, over all of which he presided in person. "The conventions of the clergy under Archbishop Chicheley, who had for his adviser the celebrated jurist, William Lyndwood, began to approach the form and character of a modern Convocation."†

During the latter part of Chicheley's Archiepiscopate Martin V. was Pope, who sought to reduce the independence of our National Church, and bring it more under

* Monstrelet, ii., 222, ed. Johnes. † Dean Hook.

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Ultramontane rule. The aged primate proved unequal to the crisis, and the Pope succeeded in appointing Cardinal Beaufort his legate *à latere*.

It was Archbishop Chicheley who built the Lollard Tower at Lambeth.

Chicheley was very munificent; his great work was the foundation of the College of All Souls, Oxford; he established also a college and a Bede, or almshouse at Higham Ferrers, the place of his nativity. Among other objects he gave liberally towards the building of Croydon Church: "Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterburie, was the new builder or especial repairer of Croydon Church, as appeareth by his arms graven on the walls, steeple, and porch."* "*Ecclesiæ Croydonensi ædificandæ . . . multum impendit.*"† In other words, Chicheley completed that work commenced by Archbishop Courtenay of transforming the Old Church at Croydon into a Perpendicular fabric.

Worn out by infirmities, this worthy old lord of the manor expired on the 12th of April, 1443, and was interred at Canterbury, where there is a monument to his memory.

JOHN STAFFORD, born at Howke, in Dorsetshire, was second son of Sir Humphrey Stafford, surnamed "of the silver hand." He was educated at Oxford, and after taking his degree practised as an advocate in the Ecclesiastical courts. Advanced to be Dean of the Arches, in 1419 he became Archdeacon of Salisbury, and was made Chancellor of that diocese in 1421. In the latter year he

* STOWE'S *Annals*, p. 107.

† DUCK'S *Vita Henrici Chichele*, etc., 1617.

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was Keeper of the Privy Seal, and retaining it during the remainder of the reign of Henry V., he was re-appointed on the accession of the infant Henry VI.; his salary being twenty shillings a day.* In 1422 also he became Treasurer of England, which high office he filled till March 13, 1426, when he resigned it. On May 27th, 1425, Stafford was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells, and appointed one of the Lords of the Council during the King's minority; as such he regularly attended its meetings. Stafford attached himself to the party of Henry Beaufort, who represented the Papal interest, and to the bishop's management Beaufort confided his affairs, when, by his acceptance of the Cardinal's hat from Martin V., he was entangled in difficulties with the English government.

In 1430, as one of the boy-King's counsellors he accompanied Henry VI. to France to be crowned;† two years afterwards Kemp, Archbishop of York, resigned the great Seal into the hands of Bishop Stafford. "He remained," says Foss, "in this high office uninterruptedly for eighteen years, wanting thirty-two days. He is the first possessor of the office who is known to have been called 'Lord Chancellor.'" On May 13, 1443, he was appointed to the See of Canterbury, and about the same time the Pope selected him to be his legate in England; it does not appear, however, that Archbishop Stafford ever was made a Cardinal. With the view of cementing a lasting peace between England and France, Stafford was zealous in promoting the union of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou, and the Archbishop officiated both at the marriage and subsequent coronation of the Queen.

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* Rymer, x., 117; *Rot. Parl.*, iv., 171; *Acts Privy Council*, iii., 8.

† *Acts Privy Council*, iii., 310; iv., 29.

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During the long period throughout which he held the Great Seal it was the misfortune of Archbishop Stafford to witness the gradual loss of all those Continental territories, the conquest of which had made Henry V. so popular. The terms of peace with France not proving acceptable to the English people, in 1450 the Archbishop replaced the Great Seal into the hands of Henry VI., and the first use made of the Seal by the King was to attach it to a patent of pardon to the Archbishop for all offences committed during his tenure of office. When the insurrection led by Jack Cade alarmed the kingdom, Archbishop Stafford, at the risk of his life, entered into a parley with the insurgents, and afterwards, by his prompt and bold action, rendered a great service to the country.

The memory of this prelate is inseparably associated with Croydon Palace, the great Hall of which he is supposed to have rebuilt. He died at Maidstone on the 25th of May, 1452, and was interred in Canterbury Cathedral.

JOHN KEMP was born at Wye, Kent, in 1380, and received his education at Merton College, Oxford, of which he became a Fellow. He studied law, and practising in the Ecclesiastical courts, assisted in the proceedings against Sir John Oldcastle for heresy in 1413.* In 1415 he was appointed Dean of the Arches and Vicar-General of Archbishop Chicheley, and in that year also he was employed by Henry V. to negociate a peace with the King of Arragon, and to treat for a marriage with his daughter.† His clerical preferments were numerous. Archdeacon of Durham too, in 1419 he became Bishop

* *State Trials*, i., 242, 262.

† RYMER, ix., 295.

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Joseph Nash, del. *June*, 1830.

THE GREAT HALL OF CROYDON PALACE

(*As it appeared after the East end had fallen.*)

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of Rochester. Soon afterwards the King appointed Bishop Kemp Keeper of his Privy Seal, and within two years he also became Chancellor of the Duchy of Normandy, an office he retained till the end of the reign of Henry V. On February 28, 1421, he was translated to the See of Chichester; nine months after he became Bishop of London.

On the accession of Henry VI. the bishop was appointed one of the infant King's Council. He was sent to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, and was also engaged to treat for the release of the King of Scots.* Kemp succeeded Cardinal Beaufort as Chancellor in 1426; in the same year he became Archbishop of York. During the six years in which he held the Great Seal, Kemp was one of those Peers who signed the answers to the King's uncle Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, resisting his claim to govern as he liked, and defining the limits of the Duke's authority as Protector.† With amazement the English Chancellor heard of the heroic exploits and tragic fate of the peasant girl, Joan of Arc. Kemp was selected to represent the Church and Realm of England at the Council of Basle, and as such, in 1435, this prelate also attended the Conference at Arras. In 1439 he was at the head of a splendid embassy for negociating peace with France. As a reward for his adhesion to the Papal cause the Pope made him a Cardinal. Upon the resignation of Archbishop Stafford on January 31, 1450, Kemp resumed the Great Seal; the country, however, was in a very dangerous condition at that time: there was discontent and tumult; England also was rapidly losing all her Continental possessions; and the Duke of York was becoming irresistible.

* *Acts Privy Council*, iii., 86, 137. † *Rot. Parl.*, iv., 327.

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Kemp was the mainstay of the Lancastrians. He was raised to the Primacy on July 21, 1452, and continued to discharge the labours of the united offices of Prime Minister and Archbishop of Canterbury until his decease on March 24, 1453-54.

Archbishop Kemp was a benefactor to Oxford. At Wye, the place of his nativity, he also endowed a college for secular priests, for the celebration of divine service and the instruction of youth.

Thomas Bouchier was great-grandson of Sir Robert Bouchier, who, joining the King's army with a very large array, distinguished himself at the Battle of Cressy. His father, William, was created by Henry V. Earl of Ewe, in Normandy; and marrying Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III., and widow of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, by her had issue, Henry, created Earl of Essex in 1461, and this Thomas, born about the year 1405, who became lord of the manor of Croydon.

Entering as a student Nevil's Inn, Oxford, Thomas Bouchier held the office of Chancellor in that University from 1434 to 1437;* and Dean of the College of St. Martin-le-Grand, London, he became Bishop of Worcester in 1435. He was translated thence to the See of Ely in 1443. On the demise of Archbishop Kemp, the Council, at the request of the Commons, "for his grete merits, virtues, and grete blood he comes of," joined in recommending Bouchier to the Pope as successor to the Primacy, and accordingly he was elected Archbishop of Canterbury

* *Ang. Sacr.*, i., 537.

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on April 22, 1454. The fact is Bouchier was a partizan of the Duke of York, who was at that time Protector and Defender of the realm; on March 7, 1455, he was entrusted with the Great Seal,* and retained it not quite eighteen months. Gloomy indeed were the prospects of the country, defeat abroad, insurrection at home, whilst the functions of government were complicated by the illness of the King. The Archbishop did his utmost to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties, but in vain. Within three months after Bouchier became Chancellor the first great battle of St. Albans was fought, and it was followed at brief intervals by fierce engagements at Northampton, Wakefield, and Mortimer's Cross. During that period of revolution and bloodshed, in which the Lancastrians and the Yorkists were alternately in power, the conduct of Bouchier presents us with a curious example of the facility with which men could accommodate themselves to the various political changes in those perilous times. The Archbishop did not offer much resistance to the deposition of his patron Henry VI., but, reconciling himself to the ruling power, crowned Edward IV. on June 29, 1461. In 1472 the Pope invested this Archbishop with the red hat; he is first styled Cardinal in the Rolls of Parliament of that year. In 1475 Archbishop Bouchier was one of the arbitrators between Edward, King of England, and the French monarch.†

Upon the death of Edward IV., Richard, Duke of Gloucester, "Crookback Richard," as he is styled, induced the Archbishop to urge the Queen-mother to give up her younger son into his, the Protector's, care, the elder, namely, young Edward V., being already lodged in the Tower;

* *Rot. Claus.*, 33 Hen. VI † Rymer, xii., 15—19.

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but when he pledged his word for the safety of the little Duke of York, and used all his influence to remove him from his mother in the Sanctuary at Westminster, to join his brother in the Tower, the Archbishop does not appear to have had a suspicion of the horrible fate to which the unhappy princes were doomed. Archbishop Bouchier placed the crown on the head of the usurper, Richard III.; he likewise officiated at the coronation of his successful rival, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who having won the fight on Bosworth Field, now ascended the throne as Henry VII.: and he united in marriage Henry VII. and Elizabeth, the representatives of the White Rose and the Red.

Archbishop Bouchier was both learned and liberal. He is said to have been fond of the chase, and, if so, during that long period of thirty-three years in which he held the See of Canterbury, it is more than likely he often pursued his favourite pastime in the woods surrounding the Archiepiscopal Mansion at Croydon. As a statesman, he viewed with alarm the progress of the Turks in Europe, whose arms having captured Constantinople in 1453, next threatened Italy; he granted forty days' indulgence to all who interceded with God for the extermination of the "miscreants." He also boldly denounced the iniquities and irregularities prevalent in his time among the clergy.*

Cardinal Bouchier died at Knole on April 6th, 1486, and was entombed in Canterbury Cathedral.

John Morton, descended from an ancient Nottinghamshire family, was born in the County of Dorset, about the

* Wilkins, Vol. III., 573.

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year 1420, and receiving his early education at Cerne Abbey, from thence he went to Balliol College, Oxford, where he took the degree of doctor in both laws. He became Principal of Peckwater Inn, and eventually Chancellor of the University. As an advocate in the Court of Arches he attracted the notice of Archbishop Bouchier, and in 1456, while that prelate still held the Great Seal, Morton was appointed Chancellor to Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI., and was also made Clerk or Master in Chancery. His ecclesiastical preferments were very numerous. Staunch to the dethroned Henry VI., Morton was in the bitter field of Towton on Palm Sunday, 1461, when 40,000 Englishmen lost their lives, fighting one against the other, under the opposite banners of the White and Red Rose. Escaping from the battle, he accompanied Queen Margaret to Flanders. After the desperate encounters at Barnet and Tewkesbury, and when no immediate representative of the house of Lancaster survived the dreadful revolutions, in 1471 Morton sued for, and obtained his pardon from Edward IV., with the reversal of his attainder.* In 1472 he was appointed Master of the Rolls, and the Great Seal was several times deposited with him as Keeper in 1473. Towards the close of the last named year he was sent to Nuys to negociate a treaty with the Duke of Burgundy. On the revival by King Edward of his claim to the crown of France, Dr. Morton was one of the negociators of the Treaty of Pecquigny, by which Louis XI. prevented the invasion of his territory by a grant to the English King of an annual pension. On the 8th of August, 1478,

* *Rot. Parl.*, v., 477, 480; vi., 26.

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Morton was elected Bishop of Ely, and soon after he resigned the Mastership of the Rolls to his nephew.

Bishop Morton is said to have been one of the executors of King Edward IV., and this may account for his arrest by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the Protector. It was on the 13th of June, 1483, that the Protector, apparently in excellent spirits, attended the Council in the Tower, to deliberate concerning the coronation of young Edward V. Praising the strawberries which grew in the Bishop of Ely's garden on Holborn Hill, Richard asked the prelate to have some gathered that he might eat them at dinner, and he then retired. He returned, however, soon after, with eyebrows knit, and biting his lip, as if in a passion, when, laying bare his left arm, the Duke declared its withered state was caused by the sorcery of the Queen and Jane Shore, who compassed his destruction by witchcraft. Lord Hastings observed that if they had done this they deserved to be punished. "What," rejoined the Protector, "thou servest me with *ifs* and with *ands!* I tell thee they have done so, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor!" Whereupon, giving the table a blow with his fist, the chamber was immediately filled with armed men. "I arrest thee, traitor," cried Gloucester to Hastings, "and by Saint Paul I swear, that dine I will not until thy head be brought to me." Lord Hastings was hurried to the green by the Tower chapel, and beheaded on a log of wood that chanced to be lying there. At the same time, Bishop Morton and the Archbishop of York were arrested, and confined in separate cells. A Petition from the University of Oxford, however, procured Morton's release from that fortress, and he was sent to Brecknock in custody of the Duke of Buckingham. Morton, who was a delightful companion, soon became intimate

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with his keeper; and when the Duke, on whom the Usurper had lavished honours and estates, turned against Richard III., Bishop Morton and Buckingham together concocted the sagacious scheme of raising Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, to the throne, and uniting the rival factions of York and Lancaster by the marriage of the Earl with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late King Edward. The prelate contrived to join the Earl of Richmond in Flanders, but his Ducal confederate falling into Richard's hands, his head was struck off. Eventually, the crown of England was torn from the Usurper at Bosworth, in Leicestershire, and placed on the brow of Henry VII., who sat not long on the throne ere he summoned to his Council Bishop Morton. His attainder reversed, on March 6th, 1486, Morton was made Lord Chancellor, and a few months after, Archbishop of Canterbury, and thus, placed in the two highest offices in Church and State, this lord of the manor of Croydon retained them both until his death on September 13th, 1500.

Archbishop Morton was a Cardinal, the Pope having conferred upon him that title in 1493.

HENRY DEAN, 1501—3. There is no record of this Archbishop of Canterbury residing at Croydon Palace.

WILLIAM WARHAM.—This accomplished prelate was born at Walsanger about the year 1450, and was educated a Wykehamist at Winchester and at New College, of which he became a fellow in 1475. It was the era of the dis-

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covery of the art of printing: a taste for classical literature was reviving; scholasticism had done its work, and fresh sources of information were opening to the European intellect, through the circulation of Greek literature. At Oxford Warham commenced the study of law, and having become a doctor of laws, he removed to London, and practised in the Court of Arches. Ordained also, he became Rector of Barley, in Hertfordshire; there is an uncertainty, however, respecting the date of this and Warham's other early preferments. The abilities of the young lawyer were noticed by Archbishop Morton, who introduced him to Henry VII., and at the instance of the King Dr. Warham accompanied Poynings on that embassy to the Court of Burgundy the object of which was to induce the reigning duke to discard Perkin Warbeck. On this mission Warham's conduct gave such satisfaction to Henry that he afterwards employed him on various diplomatic services; and, when not engaged abroad, Warham sat at the King's Council Board. He obtained the Precentorship of Wells in the year 1493; in 1496 he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon. These were well endowed sinecures, the duties of which he discharged by deputy, while the surplus income derived from such Church preferments enabled Warham, as a statesman and lawyer, to serve his King; and in proof thereof his name figures in many important State papers of the time.

In the year 1501 Warham was elected to the See of London, he was appointed Lord Keeper in the year following, then Lord Chancellor, and finally, in 1503, he was translated to the See of Canterbury. In accordance with the ancient laws of the realm and the Canons of the Church of England, Warham received from the King the

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office of Primate of All England: the King issued his congé d'élire, the Chapter at Canterbury and the Pope obeyed, and the usual bull was issued. Even in that age of festivals and ceremonial pomp, the banquet that followed the enthronization of Warham, according to the chroniclers, in splendour was never surpassed. Under ordinary circumstances Warham was frugal; like his wise but penurious Royal master, however, on great occasions he could be munificent, since an Archbishop's income then was very large.

Warham continued to be Chancellor of Henry VII. till the decease of that monarch almost terminated the Archbishop's career as a statesman. He officiated at the marriage and subsequent coronation of King Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine; the coronation service of England being the same then as it was in Anglo-Saxon times, and as it still remains. In the glories of the early career of Henry VIII., when the King of England, landing in France, amid the applause of Europe, won the "Battle of the Spurs," and reduced Tournay, routing meanwhile the Scottish chivalry at Flodden;—in these memorable triumphs Warham shared. But Wolsey, the "Butcher's Son," became the favourite and boon companion of Henry VIII., and accordingly into the hands of this powerful minister Archbishop Warham meekly resigned the Great Seal in 1515.

Activity was not one of Warham's virtues, and he was timid, yet it ought not to be forgotten that he sanctioned a reformation not only of the Universities but of the corrupt ecclesiastical courts in England, and of other matters in the Church. But the age was cruel, and it was the custom under an accusation of heresy to murder men for their religious opinions.

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Archbishop Warham gave the Manor of Haling to Henry VIII. in exchange for other lands.*

To the influence of Warham some of the most distinguished scholars of the day, Linacre, Grocyn, Lilly, were indebted for their introduction not only to the schools and universities of Italy, but also to the courts of the Medicean and other Italian princes; where, making themselves masters of "the new learning," they returned to diffuse it through the schools of England, and thus raised the intellectual character of this country.

Erasmus was especially indebted to Warham. The Archbishop agreed with him in thinking that a reformation in society could only be effected by rendering the leading men of the day good Biblical scholars; and he liberally supplied the great scholar with funds wherewith to prepare first his Greek Testament, and then his Latin translation for the press. The Archbishop shrank, however, from translating the Scriptures into the vernacular, and he even took measures to suppress Tyndal's noble translation of the Bible.

To the intimacy that existed between Warham and Erasmus we owe much of our insight into the habits and character of this prelate. Erasmus wrote:—

"It was my good fortune, then advanced in life, and close upon my fortieth year, to be introduced to Archbishop Warham. Encouraged and cheered by his bounty I revived, I gained new youth and strength in the cause of literature."

Again:—

"Of those who are kind to me I place in the first place Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. What genius! What copiousness! What vivacity! What facility in the most complicated discussions! What

* Grants and Exchanges of Lands, Aug. Office.

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erudition! What politeness! From Warham none ever parted in sorrow. This conduct would do honour to a monarch! With all these qualities, how great is Warham's humility! How edifying his modesty! He alone is ignorant of his eminence; no one is more faithful or more constant in friendship."

It is an honour to Croydon to have had such a character as Erasmus has here pourtrayed lord of its ancient manor house:—

"How fully soever Warham might be occupied with the concerns of the kingdom, they never trespassed upon his Archiepiscopal duties. He might even be thought to be engrossed by these: he found time almost every day to say mass, to give audiences, to receive ambassadors, to attend the Royal councils, to visit some parts of his diocese, and even to read. Conversation with the learned, and literary occupations were his only recreations. Sometimes two hundred persons dined at his table; it was frequented by bishops, dukes, and lords; it never took more than an hour of his time; he drank no wine; he was very cheerful; he never supped; but if some of his intimate friends (and he admitted me among them) remained with him till that hour, he sat down to table with them, eating nothing or scarcely anything himself. He was fond of wit, and occasionally witty, but his wit had no bitterness. He left behind him no more money than was necessary to pay his debts."

Thomas Cranmer was born at Aslacton, Nottinghamshire, on the 2nd of July, 1484. At the age of fourteen he went to Cambridge, where he resided for five-and-twenty years, and during this time he became a Fellow of Jesus College. It would seem that originally Cranmer designed to practise as a lawyer, but altering his intention he was ordained in 1523, and becoming a professor of theology, or D.D., he lectured on the Holy Scriptures. In 1528 the terrible disease known as the sweating sickness reappeared amid the colleges of Cambridge, when, to avoid the pestilence, Cranmer, as a private tutor, retired with

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two of his pupils to the house of their father at Waltham, in the neighbourhood of which Henry the Eighth was temporarily staying. The subject of the King's divorce was at that time the topic of general conversation, and Cranmer happening to express an opinion in regard to the nullity of the Royal marriage, hearing of it, the lusty Harry exclaimed, "This man I trow has got the right sow by the ear;" and, forthwith, the Cambridge professor received a summons to wait upon his Majesty at Greenwich. Upon Cranmer now devolved the office of advocate of Henry VIII. in the matter of the King's divorce from Queen Katherine, a task he reluctantly undertook. He was appointed one of the Royal chaplains, and the King conferred on Cranmer other tokens of his regard in the way of Church preferments. With the view of furthering the wishes of his Royal patron, Cranmer wrote a treatise in which he argued that the King's marriage with his deceased brother's wife was not merely voidable but from the beginning void. In support of this theory Cranmer argued before the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and he also went on an embassy to Rome. The Pope showed every mark of respect to the advocate of Henry VIII., and conferred on Cranmer the lucrative office of "Penitentiary of England," an appointment that involved the power of granting all Papal dispensations; but the Holy Father postponed *sine die* the hearing of the doctor's argument. From Italy Cranmer continued his labours in France and Germany, where he engaged in conferences with the princes of the Protestant league, and afterwards with the Emperor; he could not move them, however, to interest themselves in the question of the King's divorce, and Luther pronounced against Henry.

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Lingering in Germany, Cranmer took for his second wife Margaret, niece of Osiander, the critic.

Meanwhile, Dr. Cranmer had been nominated by Henry VIII. to the See of Canterbury, an honour he would have avoided if he could have done so with safety. His consecration took place on the 30th of March, 1533. On the 23rd of May following Archbishop Cranmer pronounced sentence of divorce between King Henry VIII. and the Lady Katherine, and, two days after, Henry married Ann Boleyn. Cranmer set the crown upon the head of Ann at her coronation.

The question of the Royal Supremacy had once more been raised in connection with the King's divorce, and the breach between England and Rome widened. According to the ancient laws of the realm and the Canons of the Church of England, the Royal Supremacy was a fact of which no doubt had ever been entertained. From the Conquest to the Reformation the Kings of England at their coronation were required to make oath that they would observe and do the laws of good King Edward, and Edward the Confessor thus declared the law:—"The King, who is the vicar of the Highest King, is ordained to this end, that he shall govern and rule the earthly kingdom and people of the Lord, and above all things the holy Church, and that he defend the same from wrongdoers, and pluck up, destroy and root out workers of mischief."* It is an historical error to represent England as falling out with the Pope for the first time in the reign of Henry VIII., since the anti-papal character of the Statute law of England is proved by various Acts of Parliament passed long ere a Tudor ascended the throne. By a Statute of

* King Edw. Laws, c. 19, *Spelm. Conc.*, tom. i., p. 62.

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Henry III. the Pope's Canon law had no place in England excepting so far as the King and Parliament permitted.* In the Parliament holden at Carlisle in the year 1306, being the 35th of Edward I., it was enacted that from thenceforth the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome in respect to English benefices should not be suffered.† By the Statute of Provisors, passed in 1350, it was decreed, that the Bishop of Rome should not be permitted to dispose of the livings of the Church of England, but that "the free elections of Archbishops, Bishops, and all other dignities and benefices elective in England, shall be held henceforth, as they were granted by the King's progenitors, and the ancestors of other lords, founders of the said dignities and other benefices," and they "shall have their collations and presentations freely to the same."‡ The Statute of Præmunire, passed in 1353, after protesting that "diverse of the people had been drawn out of the realm to answer to things whereof the cognizance pertaineth to the King's Court; and also that the judgments given in the said Court are impeached in another Court to prejudice and disherison of our Lord the King and his crown, and of all the people of the said realm, and to the destruction and undoing of the common law of the said realm at all times used," enacted that no one henceforth should draw any plea out of the realm, the cognizance of which appertained to the King's Court, on pain of forfeiture of goods and chattels to the crown.§ The Statute of Præmunire, passed in the reign of Richard II., asserted

* 20 Henry III., c. 9.

† Coke's *Reports*, i., 14.

‡ *Statute of Provision of Benefices*, 25 Edw. III., 6, and *Statute of Provisors*, 38 Edw. III.

§ Præmunire for suing in a foreign realm, 27 Ed. III., c. i.

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that "The crown of England hath been so free at all times that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subjected to God in all things touching its regality, and no other, and ought not to be submitted to the Pope:" and by the same Statute it is also enacted that "They who shall procure or prosecute any Popish bulls and excommunications, in certain cases shall incur the forfeiture of their estates, or be banished, or be put out of the King's protection." These Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire are based upon the Royal Supremacy, and were passed by the Lords and Commons of England in full Parliament, in order to protect this kingdom from Papal aggression. Summing up the above, and many similar Statutes, Bramhall says:—"So the laws of England did not permit the Pope to cite or excommunicate an English subject, or dispose of an English benefice, or send a legate, *à latere*, or to receive an appeal out of England, without the King's consent." Henry VIII. claimed no powers beyond those which belonged to his ancestors, although in various instances they had failed to exercise them.

Moreover the Church of England was a National Church, and not a mere dependency of Rome. Its bishops were the successors of those who by means of an unbroken descent of ordinations derived their mission from the Apostles, and from our Lord. Those ancient British bishops, who sat in the Councils of Arles and Nice in the fourth century, were followed by a long line of successors who governed dioceses in Britain; so was Patric, Aidan, and those prelates from Ireland who early laboured to bring to the knowledge of Christ the Picts, the Scots, and the pagan Anglian invaders of North-Humber-land; so was Austin or Augustine, whom Gregory, Bishop of Rome, sent a missionary to Ethelbert, the heathen Saxon King

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of Kent. With such an origin surely the Church of England might be esteemed an independent Church.

It is not our province to pen a history of the Reformation in England, nor even to write a detailed account of Cranmer's life: suffice it to observe that, the Court of Rome reversed the judgment of the English Primate in the matter of Henry's divorce, and the King of England was threatened with excommunication if he did not separate from Ann. The breach between Henry VIII. and the Pope became irreparable.

During the Archiepiscopate of Warham, the Convocations of Canterbury and York in 1531 had recognised the King "as the singular protector, the only supreme governor, and, so far as Christ permits, the supreme head of the English Church and clergy," and in 1532 the Convocations of both Provinces had consented to a revision of ecclesiastical law by thirty commissioners, to be nominated by the King, without any reference to Rome. Under Henry and Cranmer's direction legislation in ecclesiastical affairs proceeded further, yet gradually. The Parliament which met in 1533-4 enacted that in the appointment of bishops the issue of bulls would no longer be tolerated: the collection of Peter's pence and other payments to Rome were prohibited; and the archbishops were empowered to grant all such licenses and dispensations as had heretofore been obtained from the See of Rome. Convocation now advised the Crown to put in force the Act of Parliament which subjected all who appealed to the Court of Rome to the penalties of a præmunire, and it asserted also that "the Bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction given him in this realm of England than any other foreign bishop." The example thus set by the clergy was followed by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge,

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by all the capitular, and even by the conventual bodies throughout the realm, which, one and all concurred in recording their solemn renunciation of the Papal Supremacy. At length an Act of Parliament conceded to the King the title of Supreme Head of the Church, together with power to correct grievances, and call defaulters to account.

The monasteries had been the nurseries of much that was great and good, yet they outlived their usefulness, and, in the time of Henry the Eighth, ceased to meet the requirements of the age. In the work of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, however, Cranmer took no active part; that iniquitous proceeding was accomplished by the King's Vicegerent, Thomas Crumwell.

Wiclif's noble labours to furnish the people of this country with a manuscript translation of the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue, coupled with the circulation of the first *printed* Bibles in English by Tyndal and Coverdale, had aroused a spirit of enquiry regarding the Word of God, and the corruptions of the Church. Cranmer felt the time had come when the ecclesiastical system must be tested by Holy Writ. Search the Scriptures was a Divine command, yet how could people read the sacred oracles if they remained locked up in a language they did not understand. Very few were masters of Hebrew or Greek; as for the Vulgate, it was merely a corrupted translation. To remedy the evil Archbishop Cranmer obtained the Royal assent for an authorised English version of the Bible. Accordingly, in 1537, a folio edition of the Bible appeared under the assumed name of Matthews: it was a revision of Tyndal and Coverdale's translation; and a copy of this book was ordered to be set up in some convenient place in every Church. In 1540

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appeared that further revision known as "Cranmer's Great Bible."

The despotic Henry the Eighth required all his subjects to admit the Royal Supremacy, and, not only it, but the King determined none of his subjects should cavil either against the doctrine of transubstantiation, the enforced celibacy of the clergy, or auricular confession. With the view of abolishing diversity of opinion on these and other points, Henry drew up a bill concerning the punishment of those who impugned them: death was the penalty; their goods were to be forfeited. This bill, known as "the whip with six strings," became a "bloody statute" of Parliament, indeed! Notwithstanding Foxe's statement to the contrary, there is too much reason to fear that Cranmer evinced much pusillanimity in regard to the passing of this abhorred edict; there is no doubt he afterwards acted on it; and delivering judgment, then handed over both men and women to the secular arm, to be fastened to the stake, and burned to death, for courageously spurning dogmas which he himself eventually suffered for denying. It was for refusing to believe in transubstantiation that, after having been examined by Cranmer, at Croydon, the most learned and amiable John Fryth was cruelly put to death. In answer to the sermon preached at the burning in Smithfield of Joan Bocher, who, as a heretic, had been sentenced to death by Cranmer; the last dying speech of this heroine was, "You lie like a rogue; go read the Scriptures."

Henry's infallibility failing to satisfy a large portion of the nation, there was a serious insurrection, and multitudes were hanged or burned in consequence. To this dreadful severity, and likewise to all the domestic changes in the chequered life of that fickle tyrant, Henry VIII., the

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Archbishop was a witness. Cranmer became godfather of Edward VI. He married, and soon afterwards divorced Henry and Ann of Cleves. The Archbishop laboured, but in vain, to save the unhappy Katherine Howard from the block. He interceded for the Lady Mary, when the King, her father, threatened to send her to the Tower, for refusing to relinquish the title of princess, or renounce the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.

Cranmer was pursuing his studies at his manor of Croydon when, on the 28th of January, 1546-7, he received a summons to attend immediately upon the King at Westminster, but before he could arrive Henry was speechless. When Henry VIII. was interred at Windsor Cranmer sang mass: he also officiated at the coronation of Edward VI. By the will of Henry, the Archbishop of Canterbury was placed at the head of the Regency which was to govern the country during the minority of the young King; Cranmer readily acquiesced, however, in the arrangement that conferred the title and power of Lord Protector on the Duke of Somerset. The edicts of Henries IV. and V. against the Lollards were now repealed, as well as various tyrannical acts of the late reign, and a spirit of moderation and sound judgment distinguished the administration. On the recommendation of Cranmer a Commission was appointed and empowered to visit each parish in England. The Injunctions delivered by the Commissioners at this Visitation warned the clergy to observe the statutes made, as well for the abolishing of the usurped jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, as for the establishment in the "Church of England and Ireland" of the Royal Supremacy. The worship of images and relics, the wandering on pilgrimages, and other superstitious practices were forbidden, and men were exhorted to works

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of faith, mercy and honesty. A copy of the Bible in English was to be set up in every Church, and the people were to be encouraged to read it. The Bible was to be accompanied by Erasmus's *Paraphrase of the New Testament* translated into English. At high mass the epistle and gospel were to be read in English and not in Latin. On every Sunday, or Holy-day, the clergyman was to read one chapter of the New Testament in English at Matins, and at Even-song one chapter of the Old Testament. The Litany in English was to be distinctly sung or said, and the book called in the Thirty-nine Articles "the Former Book of Homilies," consisting of twelve sermons of a practical nature, which the Primate had prepared, was ordered to be read where there was a scarcity of preachers. Finally, registers for baptisms, marriages and burials were ordered to be duly kept. To these and other alterations the party of "the old learning," with Gardyner and Bonner at their head, took exception. About the same time an Act of Parliament was obtained in favour of the marriage of the clergy.

Soon after the accession of Edward VI. Cranmer renounced the dogma of transubstantiation. Apprehending now that the One great Sacrifice on the cross was all-sufficient, and needed no repetition, he laboured to change the sacrifice of the mass into a communion; citing as his authority for so doing the Holy Scriptures, as interpreted by the primitive fathers.

The Archbishop directed his attention to that revision of the ancient devotional offices of the Church which finally resulted in our Book of Common Prayer. In order to enforce an uniformity of teaching in matters of faith, forty-two articles, afterwards reduced to thirty-nine, were also prepared by Cranmer. The Primate was engaged

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on his great work of the revision of the old Canon Law, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, when he was called to the chamber of the dying Edward VI. to append his name to a document, the purport of which was no less than to divert the succession to the crown in favour of Lady Jane Grey. "I cannot," said the Archbishop, "set my hand to this instrument without committing perjury, for I have sworn to the succession of the Lady Mary." At the earnest request of his dying godson, Cranmer at last signed the fatal document.

After the death of the young King, Queen Mary and her government carried on their bloody work against heretics with a barbarous ferocity. Cranmer was odious to Mary, not only as the author of her mother's divorce, but as the Pope's enemy, and for conspiring to place the crown of England on the head of Lady Jane. Accordingly, Cranmer was arraigned, condemned and sentenced to death. Re-conveyed to the Tower as a State prisoner, he was afterwards removed in company with Ridley and Latimer, under a strong guard, to Oxford, where, separated from his friends, he was consigned to the common prison. After a disgracefully unfair disputation concerning the sacrament, as to the real presence, transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, in the course of which this celebrated man displayed so much ability, ready learning and modesty, as to extort admiration even from his adversaries, the three prelates were condemned for heresy. Nearly two years elapsed between this condemnation and the execution of Cranmer, all of which time he continued a prisoner in Bocardo. The Archbishop underwent a second trial in September, 1555, and again was remanded to prison. In due course he was excommunicated, ignominiously deposed from the Archiepiscopate by the Papal

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delegates, degraded, and finally, delivered over to the secular power. Working on the hopes and fears of the poor prisoner, Cranmer's cruel deceivers now succeeded in obtaining from him a recantation of his Protestant principles, yet, notwithstanding this, the Queen determined he should burn. In St. Mary's Church, Oxford, on the 21st of March, 1556, the day on which he breathed his last, to the amazement and confusion of his enemies, Cranmer nobly revoked his recent recantation. Whatever opinions may be entertained respecting the disingenuousness and vacillation of his previous conduct, there can be no doubt that Cranmer displayed great heroism at the stake. After they had chained him to it, and set fire to the surrounding faggots, Cranmer boldly thrust his right hand that had signed the recantation into the flames, and exclaiming, "Oh! this unworthy hand," courageously held it there until it was consumed. The last words of this venerable martyr were,—"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Reginald Pole.—A very slight sketch of the life and character of this extraordinary person must suffice, as during Pole's brief occupancy of the See of Canterbury only one of his Acts was dated at Croydon. On the father's side, Reginald Pole claimed to be related to Henry VII.; his mother was niece of Edward IV. A representative of the house of York, and thus closely connected with Royalty, Henry VIII. acknowledged his kinsman by liberally providing the means for the young man's education as a nobleman, first at Oxford, and afterwards in Italy, whither Reginald went at the age of nineteen. While studying at Padua he maintained a princely

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establishment, and Reginald's house became the resort of the great and learned, who were pleased to share his hospitality. Returning to England, Pole was not slow to discover that the affections of Henry VIII. had been estranged from Queen Katherine, she who had shown so much friendship to the family of Reginald. With feelings of compassion towards the unfortunate Lady, and of detestation both of Crumwell and Cranmer for advising the King to set the Papal authority at defiance, Pole again left England in 1532, and returned to Italy. Theology now occupied the serious thoughts of Reginald, his hours of relaxation being often passed at the villa of Pietro Bembo, then frequented by all the scholars of the age. Among the Italians with whom Pole was held in high estimation were Buonamici, Professor of Greek and Roman Eloquence at the University of Padua; Lampridio, the distinguished philologist; the erudite and saint-like Contarini; Caraffa, destined to become Paul IV.; Sadoleto, who wrote Latin with such Ciceronian purity that Erasmus praised it as superior to his own;* Peter Martyr; the noble Giulia Gonzaga; the beautiful and accomplished Vittoria Colonna, of whom the illustrious Michael Angelo said, "I was born a rough model; and it was for her to reform and to remake me;" Flaminio, and Luigi Priuli; the latter a man of fortune who, leaving home and country on account of strong attachment to Pole, became part of Reginald's household, and never left him till, after a friendship of six-and-twenty years' duration, death parted the friends.

The refined heathenism and profligacy of the Court of Leo X. had caused a reaction among the more serious

* *Ep.* Erasm., 758.

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members of the Roman Church, and the company with whom Pole associated were favourably disposed to a reformation. Pole and the Italian reformers accepted the grand doctrine of justification by faith; yet although doctrinally agreeing with the German reformers, unlike Luther and Cranmer, Pole determined to uphold the Pope's supremacy, and the sacerdotal system. From the Simancas papers we glean that, at the very time Pole was so much indebted to Henry VIII., he was conspiring to dethrone his benefactor, and restore the Papal power in England. At length Reginald threw off the mask, and penned an incoherent treatise, *De Unitate*, in which, magnifying the priestly over the monarchical office, he gave full vent to his hatred of the King of England, whom he reviled as Lucifer, and compared to the worst tyrants of antiquity. In 1536 Pole was created a Cardinal, and soon after he was appointed a Papal Legate to co-operate with the Emperor Charles V. and the French King Francis I. against Henry VIII. But the English Prince vigorously overpowered all resistance, so that this, and Pole's other schemes against the heretical monarch, turned out mortifying failures. The treasonable correspondence of Pole sent his brother, his kinsman, and his noble mother to the scaffold, and Reginald's own attainder followed soon after. Depressed in spirits he retired to Italy, when Paul III. rewarded his fidelity by appointing him Governor of the Patrimony of St. Peter. His government at Viterbo was leniency itself compared with those severities which afterwards caused the name of Reginald Pole to be execrated. About this time appeared the celebrated *Beneficio di Christi*, a treatise on the benefit derived by Christians from the death of Christ, with the history of which remarkable book the name of Pole is associated. Pole,

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however, was disingenuous and inconsistent; in doctrine a Protestant, in discipline a Papist: yet, notwithstanding he regarded the Pope as the centre of unity in the Church, the Holy Father, in whose cause he was ready to die, distrusted him, on account of Pole's supposed tendency to Protestantism. Nevertheless, as one of the Papal Legates, Cardinal Pole presided at the Council of Trent, and penned the *De Concilio*.

On the death of Henry VIII. Protestantism triumphed in England in the person of his youthful successor. A disappointed and prematurely old man, Reginald retired from the government of the Patrimony to live the life of a recluse in a convent on the banks of the Lago di Garda, when the early demise of Edward VI. revived his long cherished expectations of re-introducing the Papacy into England. Anxious to see that country purged of schism, as Legate of Pope Julius III., Pole set out on a mission to his cousin Queen Mary. At length, after many delays, the outlawed Plantagenet was permitted to return to his native land, where he met with an honourable reception. Philip and Mary received their kinsman with reverence; the attainder of Pole was reversed, and his family restored to its hereditary honours. On the 27th of November, 1554, arrayed in the splendid robes of his office, the Legate communicated to the Parliament of England the invitation to reconciliation from the Pope; and, on the following St. Andrew's Day, the King and Queen, in presence of the assembled Houses of Parliament, falling on their knees before the Cardinal, who all the while remained sitting, besought him, as the Legate of the most Holy Father, Pope Julius III., to receive the penitent English nation back again into the bosom of the holy Roman See. It was a proud day for Pole, yet not since

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the time of King John had England been so humbled and degraded. Convocation next besought absolution from the Legate for the *sin* of the Reformation. The Statutes against the Pope's supremacy were repealed; and those hideous laws for the repression of heresy, passed in the reigns of Richard II. and Henries IV. and V., were re-enacted. Lambeth Palace, splendidly furnished at Queen Mary's expense, became the residence of Pole. His election to the See of Canterbury took place while Cranmer was alive; the consecration of Pole, however, did not occur till the 22nd of March, 1556, the day following that on which poor Cranmer suffered. The Cardinal Archbishop received his pall with great ceremony in Bow Church.

Meanwhile England was in a deplorable condition; famine and pestilence stalked abroad, and rebellion was rife. "What marvel was it? Here was nothing but fining, heading, hanging, quartering and burning, taxing, levying, and pulling down of bulwarks at home, and beggaring and losing our strongholds abroad."*

And now his reconciliation of England with the Papacy having been effected, a charge of heresy was brought against Pole himself; and, to his mortification, he was summoned before the Inquisition; the charge eventually was withdrawn, but the citation was never revoked. It was during Pole's ascendancy in the councils of Queen Mary that the great majority of "Gospellers," as they were nicknamed, a frightful list, were sent to the stake. Anxious, apparently, to clear himself of the suspicion of heresy, Pole urged the search for heretics, and when dis-

* Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 249. Stow, Noailles, XI., 1020, and Micheles to the *Doge of Venice*.

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covered they were legally murdered; he all the while affecting an aversion to extreme proceedings. It is this mixture of cruelty and deceit in his character, practised as it was under the cloak of religion, that has branded with everlasting infamy the name of Cardinal Pole. Such was his influence with Queen Mary, that one word from the Legate would have sufficed to extinguish the fires of Smithfield; yet he disdained to interfere on behalf of the heretics, and let the law take its course. It was this Cardinal who ordered the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius to be exhumed, and burnt as heretics in the Market Place of Cambridge; a senseless piece of malignant folly! Ignatius Loyola was a correspondent of Pole's.

Cardinal Pole breathed his last on November 18th, 1558, just two and twenty hours after the decease of Queen Mary.

Matthew Parker.—The eminent subject of this brief notice was the son of a substantial tradesman of Norwich; on the mother's side Matthew Parker was related to the Earl of Nottingham. He received the rudiments of education at Norwich, and about the age of seventeen years was sent by the self-denying generosity of his mother to Cambridge, where he was admitted a member of Benét otherwise Corpus Christi College, and distinguishing himself for assiduity, the young student obtained a scholarship. In 1525 he took his degree of B.A.; he was ordained priest in 1527. In the following year Parker became a fellow of Benét College, and took his degree of M.A. In 1533, the year in which Dr. Cranmer was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury,

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good preachers being scarce, Matthew received a license to preach; when his zeal, eloquence and learning commending him to Anne Boleyn, he became chaplain to the Queen, and afterwards to Henry VIII. In right of this office of chaplain to the Queen, Parker succeeded to the Deanery of Stoke, a college which originally had been an alien priory or cell of the Abbey of Bec. He alludes in various letters to a conversation he had with Anne Boleyn within six days of her fall, in which, as if anticipating her untimely end, she entreated him to watch as a paternal friend over her daughter, afterwards Queen Elizabeth.

Matthew Parker graduated in divinity in 1535, and became D.D. in 1538. In 1542 he became Rector of Ashen, and Prebendary of Ely; he soon, however, exchanged the former for the Rectory of Burlingham in Norfolk. In 1544, under Royal mandate, Parker was appointed Master of Corpus Christi College, and soon after receiving this honour he became Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, an office to which he was re-elected in 1547-8. Bishop Gardyner was Chancellor: the associates of Parker at this time were such men as Grindal, Sands, Pilkington, Roger Ascham, Cheke, Cecil, Bacon, and Martin Bucer. To Parker's judicious management it was mainly owing that the estates belonging to the University and Colleges of Cambridge were not swallowed up by the hungry courtiers of Henry VIII. in the same way as these had devoured the possessions of the religious houses throughout the kingdom. At Parker's suggestion, also, a Commission was appointed to hold a Visitation of Cambridge in 1549, and the result was a reform in the examinations of the University. A pluralist, according to mediæval practice, Dr. Parker accepted the Prebend of Corringham in the Church of

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Lincoln, and as a compensation for his loss on the Dissolution of Stoke, he was advanced to the Deanery of Lincoln. His time was now divided between Cathedral duties and Cambridge, but he occasionally visited friends at Norwich. Parker was summoned to preach at Paul's Cross. In all the reforms that took place in the reign of Edward VI. he acquiesced. Such was his attachment to Cambridge, however, that rather than leave Benét College he refused a bishopric; but, having married, on the accession of Queen Mary he was deprived of all his preferments.

During the reign of Mary, Parker lived in retirement. "I lived," he writes, "as a private individual, so happy before God in my conscience, and so far from being either ashamed or dejected, that the delightful literary leisure to which the providence of God called me, yielded me much greater and more solid enjoyments than my former busy and dangerous kind of life ever afforded me. What shall befal me hereafter I know not; but to God, who cares for all men, and who will one day reveal the secrets of all hearts, I commit myself wholly, and my good and virtuous wife, with my two very dear children."

Upon the accession of Elizabeth, among other measures that occupied the attention of her government was the religious question. The necessity of a reform in the Church was generally admitted, yet it was the Queen's desire to avoid the opposite measures of her immediate predecessors, Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and to carry on the Reformation gradually upon the basis left by her father, Henry VIII. The principle on which the Queen intended to proceed was announced to Elizabeth's first parliament by Sir Nicolas Bacon in the following words:— "No party language was to be kept up in this kingdom;

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that the names of heretic, schismatic, Papist, and such like, were to be laid aside and forgotten; that, on the one side, there must be a guard against unlawful worship and superstition, and, on the other, things must not be left under such a loose regulation as to occasion indifferency in religion and contempt of holy things."* In accordance with this policy Matthew Parker, D.D., was elected Archbishop of Canterbury on the 1st of August, 1559: he was confirmed at Bow Church on December 9th, and solemnly consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace on the morning of the 17th December, 1559. Four prelates officiated on the occasion, namely, Bishops Barlow, Hodgkins, Coverdale, and Scory, and these laying hands upon him, in the language of the revised ordinal of Edward VI., with one voice said, "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and love and soberness."

Although not a man of brilliant talents, Archbishop Parker possessed a sound judgment, and could distinguish between things essential and non-essential. He was in favour of the Reformation in the Church, for, having studied the early Fathers, and being well versed in all that related to the first four general Councils, he knew the deviations of the Church of Rome from primitive truth; Parker likewise had studied the writings of Luther, Zwinglius, and Calvin, and could espy their faults as well as their merits; and hence he wished to avoid extremes.

Previously to his consecration, Dr. Parker had been appointed one of the Commission to prepare measures to be submitted to Parliament respecting ecclesiastical re-

* D'Ewes' *Journal*, p. 12.

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forms; and for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer his antiquarian researches eminently qualified him. In order to ascertain the real condition of the English Church, Parker consented to the establishment of the Court of High Commission, the despotic power of which in that revolutionary age was, perhaps, required to uphold the State, although, in after times, this Court became an engine of cruel oppression. Not until long after the reign of Elizabeth were the true principles of toleration practised. A remarkable mortality both among the English bishops and parochial clergy, coupled with the deposition of various disloyal prelates, had caused many dioceses and cures to be vacant. For the dioceses Archbishop Parker now consecrated bishops, and, meanwhile, he strove to obtain a sufficient number of learned and loyal clergymen to fill the vacant cures. Against many and great difficulties, however, the good Archbishop had to contend. On the one side was a Papal party which, under foreign influence, determined on opposing the government of Queen Elizabeth; on the other, stood the ultra-Protestants, devoted to Calvin and John Knox, by both of whom the English Church and its reformation were fiercely assailed. Queen Elizabeth was firm, yet her temper, like her father's, was imperious and uncertain: in regard to the marriage of the clergy the Queen and her Archbishop disagreed. During the first years of his episcopate the Archbishop's mind was distracted by a controversy relating to the vestments of the clergy: the latter end of his life was filled with anxiety at the Puritans succeeding in forming themselves into a separate association, which took place at Wandsworth in May, 1573. Nevertheless, the moderate and sagacious prelate continued to labour unobtrusively on behalf of that branch of the Christian Church over

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which he had been called to preside, for as Jewel in his *Apology* wrote, so Parker thought—"We are come as near as we possibly could to the Church of the Apostles, and the old Catholic bishops and fathers; and have directed according to their customs and ordinances, not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments and the form of common prayer."* It was at the suggestion of Parker that the author of the celebrated *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* was appointed to the See of Salisbury.

Archbishop Parker was mainly instrumental in procuring the publication of "the Bishop's Bible," as it was called, which was carried on under his direction. Parker was not only a translator, but he was an original author; he was, moreover, an indefatigable collector of ancient manuscripts. Living as he did about the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, he availed himself of every opportunity to collect together and preserve from destruction those ancient monuments of learning that were scattered on the breaking up of the monastic libraries. The hours unoccupied in the discharge of his ecclesiastical duties were employed by Parker in editing and publishing the early English chroniclers, and he thus rendered an inestimable service to the cause of English history. Respecting that most valuable bequest of manuscripts made by Archbishop Parker to the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Masters has observed that "it contained more materials relating to the history of this kingdom, both civil and ecclesiastical, than could before have been met with anywhere else."†

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* JEWEL'S *Works*, p. 614.

† It is a deeply interesting circumstance that in this country there are still extant, and in fair condition, some of the very books referred to in that brief catalogue of ancient volumes, concerning which it is recorded

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Occupying a station next to Royalty itself, and a prince of the Church, Archbishop Parker at all times maintained a great yet decorous and orderly establishment; which, besides including steward, treasurer, almoner, gentleman usher, clerk of the kitchen, caterer, bakers, pantlers, butlers of wine and ale, cooks, carvers, butchers, and a host of servants of other degree, comprised also cutters, limners, printers, engravers, bookbinders, etc., all of whom met in the Archbishop's hall; as well as a variety of State prisoners fastened on the primate, who in common with other great men of his time was thus compelled to act a jailor's part. The public entertainments given by the Archbishop were usually on a scale of great splendour. We have already adverted to his hospitable reception of Queen Elizabeth in the grand old hall of Croydon Palace.

The catalogue of Archbishop Parker's benefactions is long and varied.

In Margaret Harleston, a lady by birth and manners, Matthew Parker found an excellent wife, with whom he lived in great happiness for six and twenty years. It was after having partaken of the hospitality of this admirable woman that Queen Elizabeth, at parting, apparently in jest, observed:—"And you,—*madam* I may not call you,

in the Canterbury book in the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, "These are the foundation or beginning of the library of the whole English Church, A.D. 601:" *hæ sunt primitiæ librorum totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. Of the two *Textus Evangeliorum*, always regarded as being two of those books that Gregory the Great forwarded to Augustine, one, the gift of Archbishop Parker, is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. 286); and the other is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (No. D2, 14, Bod. 857). They are two of the oldest Latin MSS. written in pure Roman uncials existing in this country, and they contain Anglo-Saxon entries more than a thousand years old, which connect them with the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury.

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and *mistress* I am ashamed to call you,—but yet I do thank you."*

Like many of his predecessors Archbishop Parker caused his own tomb to be prepared during his lifetime. It was of black marble, and having lived 71 years, and ruled the Church of England through a stormy period of her history, into that tomb they placed the lifeless body of the seventieth Archbishop of Canterbury on June 6th, 1575. By his direction the following words were inscribed on his monument:—

> Depositum Reverendissimi in Christo patris, Matthæi Parkeri, Archiepiscopi Cantuar. Sedit annos 15 menses 6; obiit 1575, Maii 17.

During the rebellion in Charles the First's time, a Puritan mob disgracefully plucked the bones of the dead prelate out of their grave, and buried them in a dunghill, where they remained until, by Archbishop Sancroft's order, they were decently re-interred in the chapel of Lambeth Palace.

Edmund Grindal.—Of Grindal's family and early history little is known. He was born in the parish of St. Bees, in Cumberland, A.D. 1519. A remarkable incident connected with his boyhood indicated his early thirst for knowledge:—while walking in the fields an arrow lighted on his breast, and had not the book he was reading intercepted the shaft, it would probably have proved fatal. After passing through the Grammar School he was sent to Magdalen College, Cambridge; from thence he removed to Christ's College, and afterwards to Pembroke Hall,

* *Nugæ Antiquæ*, by Sir John Harrington, II., 16.

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where he was chosen Fellow in 1538. He commenced M.A. in 1541; on July 4th, 1544, he was ordained; in 1548-9 he was appointed Senior Proctor of the University. During the following year Grindal was admitted the Lady Margaret's Preacher, and became President of his college, having previously taken the degree of B.D. "Before he came to be taken notice of in the Church," observes Strype, "he made a figure in the University as one of the ripest wits, and learnedest men in Cambridge."* In 1549, when the Commissioners of Edward VI. held a Royal Visitation of Cambridge, Grindal, still a young man, was one of the four selected out of the ablest scholars in the University to debate the questions—"Whether transubstantiation could be proved by plain and manifest words of Scripture?" and "Whether it might be collected and confirmed by the consent of Fathers for a thousand years after Christ?" Grindal so ably maintained the negative, that Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, one of the Visitors on this occasion, on his translation to the See of London soon after, made choice of him for his chaplain. In 1551 Ridley collated him to the Precentorship of St. Paul's Cathedral, and that year Grindal also was promoted to be chaplain to the King; in 1552 he obtained a Stall in Westminster Abbey. Moreover, such public notice had been already taken of his ability, that although not more than thirty-three years of age, it was reported that he was designed for a bishopric.

On the death of King Edward, in 1553, foreseeing the storm gathering over the Reformed Church, in company with many others of piety and learning, Grindal fled to the Continent. He made Strasburg his sanctuary, and

* Strype's *Grindal*, p. 6.

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whilst in Germany applied diligently to the study of its language, in order that he might be qualified to preach in the churches of that country. One of his chief employments also, during his exile, was to collect "the writings and stories of the learned and pious sufferers in England, and to publish them; for which purpose he had a great correspondence here." The results of these inquiries were incorporated by John Foxe into his *Acts and Monuments*. Mr. Grindal was also concerned about the controversies that were springing up at Frankfort, in the year 1554, about a new model and form of worship, varying from King Edward's second book.* Queen Mary dying in 1558, Grindal returned to England, and was soon called upon to take a part in the settlement of important ecclesiastical affairs. He was one of the Commissioners charged with the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, which in its amended form was to be presented to Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament.† In the summer of 1559, he was also employed as a Royal Commissioner in the North, to require the oath of supremacy, and to inspect the Cathedrals and the manners of the clergy. About this time Grindal was appointed to the honourable office of the Mastership of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

* See *A brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort*, etc., printed about A.D. 1575.

† The original papers, containing suggestions in Grindal's handwriting, are preserved among the Petyt MSS. in the Library of the Inner Temple. The Liturgy of 5 and 6 Edward VI. was re-established, with some few alterations and additions, by 1 Eliz. cap. 2. The Book of Common Prayer thus enacted to be used throughout the Churches of England, was used for the first time on Sunday, May 12, 1559, in the Queen's Chapel. On the following Wednesday it began to be read at St. Paul's, upon which occasion Mr. Grindal preached before an august assembly of the Court, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, etc.

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The cruel Bonner being deposed from the Bishopric of London, Grindal, B.D., was consecrated to the vacant See, December 21, 1559, being at the time forty years of age. He was then appointed one of the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and in conjunction with Archbishop Parker, and others, revised the Calendar, etc., and ordered that the Ten Commandments should be set up at the east end of every Church in the kingdom.

On Wednesday, the 4th of June, 1561, the Bishop's Cathedral of St. Paul's was struck with lightning and burnt. The Queen, deeply affected with this misfortune to the chief Church in her metropolis of England, gave orders for its immediate repair, and Grindal expedited the work.*

Our Bishop was much engaged in the famous convocation of the year 1562. In it "divers weighty matters of religion were to be discussed, and the orders and usages of the Church corrected and purged, and a worship settled according to the prescript of the gospel, and an uniformity in all prescribed." By it the forty-two articles of religion, framed under King Edward, were reduced to their present number, viz., thirty-nine. Grindal not only had the summoning of those that had a right to sit there, but he was one of the selected learned men appointed to prepare the matters to be laid before the Synod.

In the year 1563 that awful scourge, the Plague, again broke out violently in London, carrying off 17,404, out of the 20,372 people that died in that year within the city. A red cross was fixed on the door of every house where

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* Towards the restoration, "out of his private resources and his family estate, Grindal paid 720*l.*—an immense sum for the period."—Sir John Heywood's *Annals of Elizabeth.*

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the plague was, with a writing underneath to signify the infection was there, and to avoid it. At this juncture, Bishop Grindal urged the duty of repentance, prayer, and fasting; nor did he neglect the suffering poor, but advised that of the provisions saved by this fasting, a good portion should be weekly bestowed in the back lanes and alleys of London, among the poor strangers who were the sorest visited.*

In 1563, Grindal, by the Queen's orders, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some civilians of the Ecclesiastical Commission, was appointed to frame new statutes for Christ's Church College, Oxford. In 1564 he was created D.D., and in that year preached a sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral in honour of the Emperor Ferdinand I., then lately deceased, which was afterwards printed.

About this time the Bishop was much concerned in endeavouring to allay and repress the differences which had sprung up among the clergy of his important diocese. During the past fiery trials, a mutual sympathy had bound together the suffering Reformers, and together they had drunk deeply of the cup of persecution; but now, when the fierce and bloody struggle with the Papists had somewhat subsided, although there still continued to be an agreement among the Reformers in England in matters of doctrine, yet there arose a controversy about what should be the discipline of the newly-reformed Church, a controversy which unhappily quickly led to the destruction of the visible unity of the Reformed Church of England. Croydon Old Church must for ever be interesting to the

* The Form of Prayer and Fasting which Bishop Grindal drew up on this occasion, with various letters addressed by him to Sir W. Cecil in reference thereto, are printed among *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D.*, published by the Parker Society.

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antiquary and historian, Churchman and Dissenter, since within its hallowed walls lies the dust of Grindal, Bishop of London when the High Commission Court suspended thirty of the London ministers, and put some of them under arrest, for refusing to wear the ecclesiastical dress, and to comply with the ceremonies enjoined by Queen Elizabeth. "After prayer," says Neal, "and a serious debate about the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the Established Church," the deprived ministers resolved on quitting it; and laying aside the English Liturgy, they began to celebrate public worship after the Genevan model. From that day dates English Protestant Nonconformity.

Grindal had the honour of assisting in the work of translating the Holy Scriptures into our language, for in the year 1568, the first edition of the Great Bible, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, was published, of which work he executed a portion.*

When the See of York, in 1568, lay destitute of a pastor, Dr. Matthew Hutton, the Dean, sensible of the need there was of a good and able man to take charge of that northern diocese and province, sent a letter to Cecil, the Secretary, expressive of the same, and suggesting what qualifications

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* Archbishop Parker, resolving on a new translation of the Scriptures for the public use of the Church, engaged the Bishops and other learned men to take each a share or portion. These being joined together, and printed with short annotations in 1568, composed what was afterwards called the Bishops' Bible. It was reprinted in 1572. The initial letters of each translator's name were put at the end of his part. Grindal appears to have executed the minor prophets, that portion of the work bearing his initials, "E. L." "The tenth (allotment) contained Hosea, Joel, Amos, to Malachi inclusive; and had the letters 'E. L.' for 'Edmundus London.'"—Strype's *Parker*, Vol. II., p. 222.

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he that was sent among them ought to have, namely:— "That he should be a teacher, because the country was ignorant; a virtuous and godly man, because the country was given to sift such a man's life; a stout and courageous man in God's cause, because the country otherwise would abuse him; and yet a sober and discreet man, lest too much rigorousness should harden the hearts of some that by fair means might be mollified, etc.; and such a bishop, likewise, as was both learned himself, and also loved learning, that that rude and blind country might be furnished with learned preachers." All these excellent qualities he reckoned centred in Grindal; for, he added, "such a man was the Bishop of London known to be," and therefore he wished that London were translated to York.* At length, in 1570, Bishop Grindal was nominated to the Archbishopric of York. The Register at York dates Grindal's translation from London on the 1st of May, and his instalment, by proxy, on June the 9th, 1570. His faithfulness in watching over his province was seen in the care he took to prevent ignorant and unqualified persons from holding benefices in the Church, and for this purpose he provided that all who came for institutions to livings should first be well examined, and such as were found either defective in learning or abilities, he rejected, notwithstanding their presentations. He also rendered the See of York a service in recovering by law a house and fourscore acres of land at Battersea, in Surrey, which formerly belonged to that See, and was intended for the convenience of its Archbishops when they came up to Parliament or Convocation, or for other business at Court. And in 1574 he interfered in favour of Sherburn Hospital,

* Strype's *Grindal Ded. Epis.*, p. 5.

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near Durham (founded by Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, for sixty-five lepers) and procured certain injurious leases, granted by its late master, to be annulled. This was not the only instance in which Grindal manifested a care for the due administration of religious and charitable foundations, so numerous in those days; for almost the last act he did when in the See of London, was to reform the hospital of the Savoy, in the Strand (erected for the entertainment and relief of poor travellers), which had nearly been brought to ruin by the wicked mismanagement of the master.

Upon the death of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, that See remained vacant for nearly six months; the Queen meanwhile applying the income of the Archbishopric to her own use; but, in November, 1575-6, Grindal was nominated to the vacant See, an honour he was, however, most unwilling to accept. He was confirmed on the 15th of February following; yet scarcely had a year elapsed ere the prelate had the misfortune to fall under the Queen's displeasure, an occurrence which was to him the source of much trouble and sorrow.

The circumstances are thus explained by his learned biographer:—"Another thing which in his high station he laboured to redress, was the ignorance and sloth of the clergy. And in order to this reformation, and for the furtherance of the priests and curates in knowledge, and for the provoking them to the study of the Scriptures, upon his first coming to the See of Canterbury, he earnestly set himself to encourage and regulate the exercises, called *prophesyings*, which had been used before, but with some abuses, in most dioceses, and had the countenance of the respective bishops. But the well-meaning Archbishop could not succeed in this his purpose; being checked in it

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very angrily by the Queen, who had no good opinion of them, as being practised also more privately by the Puritans, to confirm them in their dislike of the Established Religion, and out of policy, (too accurate, perhaps,) supposing the heads of most who resorted to these exercises, by the declarations and expositions of Scripture that were then made, would be filled with notions and opinions that might render them at length turbulent in the State. The Archbishop, on the other hand, had quite different sentiments of them, and that they would tend much to the improving of the clergy, and edifying of the people, as had been by good experience already found. So that he would never be brought to give forth his orders for the putting them down. Hence the Queen conceived a prejudice against him, hardly ever after blowing over, and which the Earl of Leicester, we are told by an author, by his artifice, blew up more and more in the Queen against him, till she had suspended him from his function, and would not be persuaded to take off his sequestration for a long while, whatever inconveniences the Church lay under by it."*

It was thus through zeal to advance religion that he unfortunately laid himself under the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth. But Grindal, although of a mild disposition, was a prelate of conscience and courage. He now wrote to the Queen a letter, of which the following is the concluding paragraph:—

"Remember, madam, that you are a mortal creature. 'Look not only (as was said to Theodosius) upon the purple and princely array wherewith ye are apparelled, but consider withal what is that that is covered therewith. Is it not flesh and bloud? Is it not dust and ashes? Is it not a corruptible body, which must return to his earth again, God

* *Grindal*, p. 439.

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knows how soon?' Must not you also one day appear *ante tremendum tribunal crucifixi, ut recipias ibi, prout gesseris in corpore, sive bonum sive malum?* *i.e.*, 'before the fearful judgment seat of the crucified [Jesus], to receive there according as you have done in the body, whether it be good or evil?' And although ye are a mighty prince, yet remember that he which dwelleth in heaven is mightier. He is, as the Psalmist saith, *terribilis, et is qui aufert spiritum principum terribilis super omnes reges terrae; i.e.*, 'terrible, and he who taketh away the spirit of princes, and is terrible above all the kings of the earth.' Wherefore I do beseech you, madam, *in visceribus Christi*, when you deal in these religious causes, set the majesty of God before your eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside; determine with yourself to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *Non mea sed tua voluntas fiat; i.e.*, 'Not mine, but Thy will be done.' God hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign, now many years; beware you do not impute the same to your own deserts or policy, but give God the glory. And as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity, first, to the goodness of the cause which ye have set forth—I mean Christ's true religion; and secondly, to the sighs and groanings of the godly in their fervent prayer to God for you, which have hitherto, as it were, tyed and bound the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved."*

Of this letter Collier says, "Whether Grindal was right or not in pleading for the prophesying meetings, I shall not pretend to determine; though it must be said, he has offered a great deal in defence of these exercises. And it is most likely, could they have been kept within the compass of his regulation, they would have proved serviceable to the Church. But this consideration apart, it is certain he writes with the spirit of a primitive bishop: his application is religiously brave, and has not the least appearance of interest or fear. And besides the piety of the address, it is managed with great force and advantage. To which

* See copy of the original in Appendix to Strype's *Grindal*.

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we may add, the advice is admirable and well directed. Nothing could be more serviceable to disengage the Queen from the flattery of her court, and bring her off from some lofty mistakes her favourites seem to have led her into."*

All that the Archbishop could say or write, however, moved not the Queen from her resolution, and in June, 1577, he was, by order of the lords of the Star Chamber, confined to his house, and sequestered for six months. Towards the end of November, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh sent a message to him, directing him how to proceed in making a formal submission to her Majesty; but Grindal "thought not fit to comply so far as was advised, but still esteeming himself not to have done amiss, he would not ask pardon, which supposed a fault."†

In January, 1578, there was much talk about depriving the Archbishop, but the proposal was so ill received that it was quickly abandoned. In the year 1579, either his confinement was taken off, or he had leave to retire for health to his manor house at Croydon, as in that year he consecrated the Bishop of Exeter here; and in the year following the Bishops of Winchester and of Lichfield and Coventry. We find the Archbishop also consecrating the Bishop of Gloucester in the chapel of Croydon Palace in 1581. He still exercised this part of his ecclesiastical functions by commission from the Queen, but the other affairs of his See, during his sequestration, were managed by two civilians appointed for that purpose. At a convocation held at St. Paul's in 1580, the assembled clergy, in want of a head, deputed Dr. Matthews, Dean of Christ Church, to draw up a petition to her Majesty for the

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* *Eccles. Hist.* VI., p. 565.

† *Grindal*, pp. 348—350.

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restitution of the Archbishop to his place;* at the same time a letter to that effect, signed by twelve bishops, was also written to the Queen. The petition showed that it had not been so much with a wilful mind as by a tender conscience that he had offended her Majesty; that "the Archbishop had led a life, free not only of all crime, but even from the suspicion of a crime; preserved his religion from all, not only corruption of Popery, but from schism, and had suffered persecution for righteousness' sake, having wandered abroad in other countries for the cause of the gospel. Therefore they (the petitioners) most humbly and unanimously beseeched her, not only to lift up the Archbishop, broken and feeble with grief, but to restore the Church to him, and him to the Church, to her subjects, to his own brethren, to foreign nations, and, in a word, to all pious people." Neither of these addresses, however, though couched in the most earnest and respectful language, had any success. In 1582, however, the Archbishop was, to a certain extent, restored to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but the aged Primate did not long enjoy it, as, in addition to his other complicated bodily disorders, he now had the affliction to become totally blind; and all hope of recovering his sight having vanished, he tendered his resignation to the Queen. He hoped, however, that he might be permitted to retain the Archbishopric until the following Michaelmas, when the audit of the See was kept for the whole year. He also asked to be allowed to retain the manor house at Croydon for his residence, with a few acres of land attached. Queen Elizabeth was pleased to accept Archbishop Grindal's

* The petition, which is in Latin, is printed in FULLER'S *Church Hist. of Great Britain*, book ix., sect. iv.

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resignation, and assigned him a pension for the remainder of his life; but it is not certain that the business of his resignation and pension were completed before his death. Fuller quaintly observes—"Being really blind, more with grief than age, he was willing to put off his clothes before he went to bed, and in his lifetime to resign his place to Dr. Whitgift, who refused such acceptance thereof; and the Queen, commiserating his condition, was graciously pleased to say, that as she had made him, so he should die, an Archbishop; as he did, July 6th, 1583. Worldly wealth he cared not for, desiring only to make both ends meet; and as for that little that lapped over, he gave it to pious uses in both Universities, and the founding of a fair free school at St. Bees, the place of his nativity."* The same author also remarks—"Whoso beholds the large revenues conferred on Grindal, the long time he enjoyed them, the little charge encumbering him, dying a single man, will admire at the mean estate he left behind him."† Grindal was in advance of the intolerant times in which he lived: he was a prelate of learning and deep piety; mild, affable, and generous, respected and beloved by all his Protestant brethren. The poet Spenser frequently quoted Grindal's sayings as though current at the time, and alluded to his troubles in passages which show the high estimation in which Grindal was held by his contemporaries.‡ He assisted the French Protestants in obtaining permission to open a church in London. He was the author of a dialogue between Custom and Verity published in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

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* Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 219.

† Fuller's *Church Hist.*, book ix., sect. 5.

‡ He is the *Algrind* of Spenser, which is the anagram of his name.

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Grindal was a patron of the art of music, and of the eminent composers, Bird, Morley, Tallis, and Tye.

It has been already mentioned that this excellent man, the bosom friend of the holy martyr, Ridley, and of Myles Coverdale, drew his last breath at Croydon Palace.* He was buried in the adjoining Church, where a characteristic and splendid monument was afterwards reared over his grave, but this, as we have related, unfortunately perished in the flames that consumed the Old Church of St. John the Baptist at Croydon.†

JOHN WHITGIFT was descended from an ancient and wealthy Yorkshire family. His father, Henry Whitgift, had settled as a merchant at Great Grimsby,‡ in Lincolnshire; and there the subject of this notice, being the eldest of six sons, was born about the year 1530. His childhood was spent under the care of his uncle, the Abbot of Welhove, a monastery of Black Canons, dedicated to St. Augustine. This man's memorable expression concerning the corruption of the Church in his time made a deep impression on young Whitgift's mind. "He had read," said the Abbot, "the Holy Scriptures over and over, but could never find there that their religion was founded by God;" he, therefore, foreboded that it could not long continue, grounding his apprehensions upon that saying of our Saviour—"*Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not*

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* See page 301. † See pages 227—9.

‡ Camden, speaking of Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, says: "The honor and ornament of this place was the Right Reverend Dr. Whitgift, late Archbishop of Canterbury; a peerless prelate for piety and learning in our days."

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planted shall be rooted up"—as indeed happened very soon after.

In those days there was a noted school connected with the religious house of St. Anthony, situate between Broad Street and Threadneedle Street, London. Sir T. More had been brought up in this school, and thither for his further improvement young Whitgift was sent. Sir George Paule* records that even at that early period of his life Whitgift had become a Confessor. Although frequently urged by his aunt, with whom he lodged, to go with her to morrow-mass at St. Paul's, he resolutely refused, notwithstanding she procured the Canons of that Church to persuade him also, until changing her good opinion of her nephew, and superstitiously attributing to her harbouring of him some domestic misfortunes that had happened to her, she resolved no longer to entertain the young heretic under her roof, but drove him out saying, that "she thought at first she had received a saint into her house, but now she perceived he was a devil."

About the second year of King Edward, 1548, Whitgift entered at Queen's College, Cambridge, from whence he removed to Pembroke Hall, of which college the famous Ridley was then master, and Grindal and Bradford (afterwards martyred), fellows, the latter becoming his tutor. Whitgift's means being small, on account of losses which his father as a merchant had suffered at sea, through Bradford and Grindal's recommendation to Ridley, he was appointed to a scholarship, and made Bible Clerk. Commencing B.A. in 1553-4, in 1555 Whitgift was elected Fellow of Peter-house, and in 1557 he took his master's

* Sir G. Paule was Comptroller of Archbishop Whitgift's household, and wrote his life.

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degree. About this time Cardinal Pole visited* the University, for the purpose of purging it of heresy. Whitgift, foreseeing his danger, since he could not comply with what was required, resolved to quit his native country and sojourn amongst the faithful exiles abroad; through the favour, however, of Dr. Perne, the Vice-Chancellor, who understood Whitgift's purpose, and observed him fixed in the reformed religion by many unanswerable arguments, he remained in the University and escaped. Throughout the dangerous reign of Queen Mary, the subject of our notice kept himself reserved, plying his studies, and by narrowly examining the controversies between the Romanists and the Reformed, he became confirmed in the truth. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Whitgift entered into Holy Orders in 1560, and soon after preached his first sermon at St. Mary's, before the University, from these words of the Apostle Paul, "*I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ,*" *etc.* (Rom. i. 16.) Shortly after, he obtained preferment from Dr. Coxe, Bishop of Ely, who made him his chaplain, and conferred on him a prebend in that church, having previously given him the Rectory of Teversham, in Cambridgeshire. In 1563 he commenced B.D., and in that year also was appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity.† In 1565 he was sworn chaplain to

* It was at this visitation that the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius (late public readers in Cambridge) were dug up and burned in the market place, after they had been ridiculously tried, and condemned for heresy, when they were beyond the reach of any human tribunal. Bucer's tomb was at the same time demolished; but it was afterwards set up again by order of Queen Elizabeth.

† According to Le Neve, Whitgift became Margaret Professor in 1566, and succeeded to the Regius Professorship in 1567, resigning it the same year.—*Fast. Eccles. Anglic.* Lond. 1716, pp. 410-11.

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the Queen, who, having heard him preach before her, and taking a liking to him, punned upon his name, declaring that he had a *white gift* indeed. Maintaining the character of a good preacher and vigorous disciplinarian, his salary as professor was augmented, and a licence from the University was granted him to preach in any part of the realm. According to the University register, Whitgift commenced D.D. 1567, and, on his appointment to keep the Act, chose for his thesis, "*Papa est ille Antichristus*," *the Pope is the Antichrist.* Being President of Peterhouse, in 1567 he was made Master of Pembroke Hall, but about three months afterwards, namely, on July 4th, Whitgift succeeded to the Mastership of Trinity College. Here he assiduously attended to the duties of his station, watching over the students of his house, attending their public disputations, generally dining and supping with them in the College Hall, and being present at prayers. Amongst other things, he resisted the claims of Westminster School upon the Scholarships of Trinity. They took up so many places that room was left for scarcely any other deserving young men; but in consequence of Whitgift's resistance, in 1569, it was arranged that two only should be sent yearly from that school to each University, and three every third year. "He stood up manfully," says an eminent writer,* "against those who wished to make Trinity College a mere appendage to Westminster School, and by this act saved the noblest place of education in England from the degrading fate of King's College and New College."

By this time Whitgift had become noticed for his piety

* MACAULAY'S *Essay on Lord Bacon.*

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and learning; and great expectations were already formed of the use he might hereafter be in the Church.

In 1570 Whitgift was made Vice-Chancellor of the University, and about this time he carried on a hot controversy with the learned Thomas Cartwright and the Puritans in general.* As a reward for his pains in vindication of the Church of England, in its doctrines, worship and government, in 1573 Queen Elizabeth conferred upon Whitgift the Deanery of Lincoln, and highly valuing his abilities in learning and government, she further promoted him, in 1576, to the See of Worcester. Shortly after he was made Vice-President of the Marches of Wales. Upon his advancement to the prelacy, Whitgift resigned his mastership of Trinity College, and devoted himself to the duties of his new office, carefully preserving the revenues of his church, and obtaining, through the Queen's favour, the disposal of its prebends during his continuance there. About this time he remonstrated boldly and eloquently

* In this (the *Admonition*) controversy, Cartwright maintained that, "the Holy Scriptures were not only a standard of doctrine, but of discipline and government; and that the Church of Christ in all ages was to be regulated by them:" he was for consulting the Bible only. Whitgift maintained, "that, though the Holy Scriptures were a perfect rule of faith, they were not designed as a standard of Church discipline or government; but that this was changeable, and might be accommodated to the civil government we live under; that the apostolical government was adapted to the Church in its infancy, and under persecution, but was to be enlarged and altered as the Church grew to maturity, and had the civil magistrate on its side," and therefore, instead of reducing the external policy of the Church to Scripture only, he takes into his standard the first four centuries after Christ; the Church being then in its mature state, and not yet under the power of Antichrist.—See Works of J. Whitgift, D.D., published by the Parker Society, Cambridge. 1851-3.

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with the Queen against the general alienation of the Church's property. "I beseech you," said he, "also to consider that Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, and Helena his mother, that King Edgar, and Edward the Confessor, and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God, and to his Church, much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their own families, and did not; but gave them for ever as an absolute right and sacrifice to God; and with these immunities and lands they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of them: God prevent your Majesty from being liable to that curse, which will cleave unto church lands as the leprosy to the Jews."*

Grindal's remissness in executing the laws against the non-conforming clergy displeasing the Queen, she suspended him from his functions, and confined him to his house. Upon Grindal's disgrace, Whitgift was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Queen desired her pleasure should be communicated to him, but in her presence he besought permission to decline the appointment during the lifetime of his friend. "Yet (as Fuller says) what he would not *snatch* soon after fell into his hands." It was upon the 23rd of September, 1583, that he was confirmed Archbishop of Canterbury.

"Whitgift came," says his biographer, "with a great disadvantage to his high charge, occasioned by the suspension of his predecessor for divers years; being hindered thereby from looking to the affairs of the Church, and from giving seasonable checks to such as bore no goodwill towards the government and public worship exercised in

* See WALTON'S *Life of Hooker*.

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it; which created our new Archbishop trouble and disquiet all the time after that he lived. For now (under the former Archbishop's suspension and neglect at Court) the courtiers and honourable personages took their opportunities to get their friends and their creatures, whom they pleased, into places and preferments in the Church, which ought to have gone through the Archbishop's hands, or by his advice, and the persons to have been such as should have had his approbation for learning and affection to the established order. Whereas many of those who were preferred, were such as little cared for episcopacy, and the Divine service settled by law: and so the sectaries by this means got strength. And many of them were planted, not only in his province, but in his own diocese of Kent. . . . . And he had great application of gentlemen to him in their behalf, that he would connive at them in their non-compliances with the laws of the land. But when our Archbishop came in place, the courtiers and gentry found their power in dispensing benefices shortened; which created him divers great enemies, when he hindered their sway as formerly. Whereupon they, with others, linked themselves against him, and gave him many thwarts at the Council Board."*

The Queen charged Archbishop Whitgift "to restore the discipline of the Church, and the uniformity established by law, which (said her Majesty), through the connivance of some prelates, the obstinacy of the Puritans, and the power of some noblemen, is run out of square."

In judging of Whitgift's measures to accomplish the end which Queen Elizabeth had in view in appointing him to the highest office under her in the Church of

* Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, Vol. I., p. 226.

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England, much doubtless should be allowed for the times and circumstances under which he acted. Intolerance was the order of the day then, irrespective of party; each party when it could grasp the power into its own hands, was but too eager to assert the necessity of a uniformity of public worship; nor scrupled at using the sword of the magistrate to prevent that liberty of conscience and freedom of religious profession, which is every man's right, so far as is consistent with the peace of the civil government he lives under. Those were times, too, of dark plots and conspiracies.* In the days of the Tudors, moreover, the notion was generally entertained that the Royal Prerogative was unlimited; as yet, the great body of the people were unprepared for those advanced principles of civil and religious liberty which now, happily for us, generally prevail; these were then practically unknown and almost as uncared for.†

Our Archbishop's zeal and laborious pains for the estab-

* The massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated in 1572: the date of the Gunpowder Plot was 1605. The two most active against England of the foreign seminaries of priests were founded; Douay, in 1569—Rome, in 1579.

† Referring to that period, Sir J. Mackintosh says:—"The English nation was now divided into three theological and political parties;—the *Churchmen*, who considered the ecclesiastical revolution as already sufficient; the *Puritans*, who sought a more perfect reformation by agitating the minds of the people; and the *Catholics*, who, supported by all the great powers of the Continent, did not despair of re-establishing the ancient Church by another revolution. These sects constituted the *parties* of Elizabeth's reign. The whole nation were classed under these sub-divisions; a considerable body of the ancient Church adhered to the Catholic religion: a still larger proportion favoured the Catholics. The strength of the Puritans lay in great towns, the scenes of bold discussion, and the favourite dwelling of prevalent innovations. The Queen's

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lishment of the Church of England brought down upon him, even in his own day, no small amount of animosity and abuse.* Nor is it to be wondered at that the judgments of succeeding historians have greatly varied respecting his conduct. Indeed, even Burghley, Whitgift's staunch and powerful friend, addressed a remonstrance to him on the subject. Hume, Neal, Macaulay, and other writers, have penned severe sentences concerning Archbishop Whitgift and his proceedings. On the contrary, Stow, in his Annals, says of Whitgift, that he was "A man born for the benefit of his country and the good of the Church:

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preference for the Churchmen was inevitable, she disfavoured the Puritans, not only for disputing her authority, but, as in her judgment distracting the Protestant party. The season for open war against the Catholics was fast advancing."—*History of England.*

* Specimen of slanderous speeches in Martin Marprelate's books against Archbishop Whitgift:—"O! monstrous and ungodly wretch. He is King of pride—he is Lucifer, which preferreth himself before his brethren. He hath forsaken the faith, and is the forerunner of Antichrist. Concerning pride, some Popes may be inferior to our Bishops; as for ill-sample, his Canterburiness. A good ill-sample. A *Paltrypolitan*, the pope of Lambeth. Is not this ambitious wretch at the highest, think you?" etc.

In 1592, one of the Nonconformists dying in prison, his fellow-prisoners put the following inscription on his coffin:—"This is the corps of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her Majesty's faithful subject; who is the last of 16 or 17 which that great enemy of God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his High Commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord; and his blood crieth for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints, and against Mr. Richard Young (a Justice of Peace in London), who, in this and many the like points, hath abused his power, for the upholding of the Romish Antichrist, Prelacy, and Priesthood." Many copies of this inscription were dispersed.—App. STRYPE'S *Ann. of the Refor.*, Neal, Vol. I., p. 1.

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wherein he ruled with such moderation, as he continued in his Prince's favour all his life; surprising [suppressing] such new sects as in his time began to rise, as by his learned work of purpose, written by him against such schisms, does well appear. Whose advancements for his good life and sincere manners, in the University of Cambridge, and in the commonwealth, grew by these degrees," etc. Fuller also says that Whitgift was "one of the worthiest men that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy."* Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaking of the efforts made by the Puritans to obtain the upper hand, says—"Thus the Church affairs stood when *Whitgift* came to the See of *Canterbury*. Now this prelate had no latitude for indulgence or comprehension: he had formerly engaged in controversy with Cartwright, and was entirely for a thorough conformity." After describing what great friends the Puritans had at Court, and the petitions of these friends to the Queen on their behalf, which, however, he says, she would not listen to, he adds—"And to prevent importunities of this kind she referred ecclesiastical business wholly to Whitgift's management. This prelate acted vigorously, and answered the confidence put in him."† Further on, he says—"In short, no part of his character was without its proper commendation. He had learning, courage, and temper suitable to his station: his public motions were easy, but not without vigour; and it was his custom to do a great deal of business without much appearance of effort and struggle."‡

Whitgift's public character is thus briefly but graphically rendered by Strype:—"Invincible patience was con-

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* See FULLER'S *Church History*. † Vol. II., p. 583.

‡ Vol. II., p. 658.

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spicuous in this . . . . Archbishop, under those many oppositions, taunts, reproaches, calumnies, clamours, lies, and insufferable abuses he underwent in Parliaments, in Court, in city, in country; and for nothing else but for labouring to preserve and keep the Church of England as it was legally established in the first reformation of it. All which, notwithstanding, he went on steadily, and with meekness and forbearance persevered in his pious purposes, and succeeded, at length, beyond expectation; making good his motto, *That he that beareth patiently, overcomes at last.*"*

The success of that which historians agree in describing as the *glorious* reign of Elizabeth, was mainly owing, under Providence, to the sagacity this princess displayed in the choice of her counsellors, and it remains upon record, that for a period of twenty years, Archbishop Whitgift was identified with the administration, and was one of the most favourite advisers of the great Queen. Queen Elizabeth is said to have called Whitgift her "*little black husband.*"

"Whitgift," says Fuller, "was a man of a middle stature, black heired, of a grave countenance, and brown complexion; small timbered, but quick, and of indifferent good strenghth, and well shaped to the proportion of his bulk: of a milde and moderate disposition, of a free minde, and a bountifull hand towards his household servants, his poore neighbours, but especially towards schollers and strangers; many whereof resorting hither out of *France* and *Germany* (among whom that famous man *Drusius*, *Renicherus*, and others) he most courteously entertained, and very liberally relieved: a diligent preacher,

* *Life of Whitgift*, Ded. Epis. Vol. I.

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as well after his preferments as before, seldome failing any Lord's Day; while he was Bishop of *Worcester*, notwithstanding his important and incessant employments otherwise, but that he preached in some of the parish churches thereabouts, and no lesse frequently when he was Archbishop, visiting the Church and pulpit at Croydon, during the time of his residence there in the vacations from attendance at Court."*

The Archbishop's patronage of Hooker, the author of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," should be remembered; the fifth book of this work, appearing in 1597, was dedicated to Whitgift.

Whitgift entertained the desire of supporting habits of liberality and bounty at his palace, frequently receiving at his table the nobility, gentry, and clergy of his diocese and neighbourhood. At Christmas he kept open house. Occasionally he maintained an unusual degree of state, and required to be attended with the bended knee. The Archbishop appointed every Thursday in term a solemn court day, when he caused a sermon to be preached in his chapel, and entertained in a costly manner the Commissioners and their attendants. Every third year he went into Kent, unless prevented by urgent business. Upon these journeys he was usually attended by his retinue, amounting to two hundred persons; in addition to these, he was honourably escorted by the gentry of the county, so that he sometimes entered the city of Canterbury with a procession of eight hundred or a thousand horse. For the purpose of encouraging military discipline, he had a good armoury and a competent number of horses; so that he was able, from amongst his own servants, to

* *Life of Whitgift.* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus.* Lond., 1651.

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equip at all points a regularly trained little force of one hundred foot and fifty horse. At the momentous period at which the *Invincible* Spanish Armada, as it was vainly called, was almost upon the shores of Britain, this little force, with Whitgift at its head, was ready to take its share in defence of the sovereign and country. In that alarming crisis, Whitgift patriotically joined the rest of his countrymen, heart and hand, against foreign and papal domination. He inculcated the necessity of earnest prayer for aid to the Almighty. He wrote letters to the Bishops of his province, commanding them to arm their respective clergy, and to urge them by explaining, that, as the clergy lived in the same commonwealth, and were embarked in the same common danger, with the rest of the Queen's subjects, they were bound in this season of imminent danger to set an example of patriotic action in defence of their gracious sovereign, their own families, and country; and, as we have before stated, he assembled and equipped his own retainers. But happily the dreaded invasion was frustrated; the event, as is well known, being, that under the providence of the Almighty, the leviathan Armada was ignominiously vanquished, and miserably scattered. Upon the revolt of the Earl of Essex, Whitgift's armed force was the first to enter the gates of Essex House, and to secure the premises. When the Earl surrendered, he was first conducted to Lambeth House, where he remained some time, and afterwards was sent to the Tower. The Archbishop's military preparations were somewhat carped at by his enemies.

Archbishop Whitgift delighted to reside in his mansion-house at Croydon. He was a great benefactor to this town. He founded the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in this place. It was finished on the 29th September, 1599,

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and endowed with lands, for the maintenance of a warden, schoolmaster, and twenty-eight poor brethren and sisters, or a greater number, not to exceed forty, if the revenues should admit of it. The building of this hospital cost him above £2,700. "This memorable and charitable structure of brick and stone," says Strype, "one of the most notable monuments founded in these times, for a harbour and subsistence for the poor, together with a fair school-house for the increase of literature, and a large dwelling for the schoolmaster, the Archbishop had the happiness, through God's favourable assistance, to build and perfect in his own lifetime. And the reason why he chose to do it himself, while he was alive, was, as Mr. Stow, the historian, had heard from his own mouth, *because he would not be to his executors a cause of their damnation;* remembering the good advice that an ancient father (St. Gregory) had left written to all posterity, '*Tutior est via, ut bonum, quod quisquis post mortem sperat agi per alios, agat, dum vivat ipse, per se;*' *i.e.*, The good that any one hopeth will be done by others, after he is dead, that he do it himself while he is alive is much the safer way."* Of the condescension of this prelate to the inmates of this hospital, we are told by Izaak Walton, in his life of Hooker, that he visited them so often, "that he knew their names and dispositions, and was so truly humble, that he called them brothers and sisters; and whenever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his Palace at Lambeth, which was very often, he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his hospital, at which time you may believe there was joy at the table."

* *Life of Whitgift*, Vol. II., p. 420.

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In connection with this work, Sir G. Paule has recorded a saying of Boyce Sisi, ambassador from France at the time of the Archbishop's death. In answer to an enquiry as to what works Whitgift had published, the ambassador was told that he had only published certain books in the English language in defence of the ecclesiastical government;* but on its being incidently mentioned that he had founded this hospital and school, "truly (replied the ambassador), an hospital to sustain the poor, and a school to train up youth, are the worthiest books that an Archbishop could set forth."

On the 14th of August, 1600, Queen Elizabeth again visited Croydon Palace, to enjoy the hospitality of her favourite prelate.†

The Archbishop was much with Queen Elizabeth during her last hours, performing the offices of religion. Her death drawing near, the Archbishop exhorted the Queen to fix her thoughts on God, the better to draw off her mind from secular things concerning her kingdom and successor, that some of her Court had propounded to her. To which the dying Queen answered she did so; nor did her mind wander from God. And as a sign thereof, when she could not speak, she was observed frequently to lift up her eyes and hands to heaven.

And as the Archbishop had the honour to perform the last duties to Queen Elizabeth, so he likewise set the crown upon the heads of King James and Queen Anne, his royal consort, at Westminster, on St. James's Day,

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* The editors of the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* mention ninety-one works as emanating from Whitgift's pen, some of which remain in MS.

† Sydney, *State Papers*, Vol. II., p. 210.

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July 25th, 1603, with all the pomp accompanying that solemnity.*

Archbishop Whitgift was present at the famous Hampton Court Conference held on January 14th, 16th, and 18th, 1604: but his expression, "undoubtedly your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's spirit," cannot be justified.

The closing years of Whitgift's life were somewhat oppressed with fears respecting the safety of that Church, the establishment of which had been the great object of his life; indeed, to his concern for it may be attributed that illness which hastened him to his end. As the session of Parliament approached, in which certain matters relating to the Church were to be discussed, in order to be the better prepared, he appointed a meeting of the bishops, to be held at the Bishop of London's palace, at Fulham. Thither, on a severe day in the month of February, he repaired in his barge, and being now an old man above seventy-three years of age, he was seriously affected. At night he complained of cold; but notwithstanding his indisposition, on the Sunday following he went to the Court at Whitehall, where both before and after divine service he had a long conference with the King respecting the affairs of the Church. On leaving the King, and on his way to dinner, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which deprived him both of his speech and the use of his right side. He was afterwards conveyed to Lambeth. King James was greatly affected by his illness, and Sir G. Paule states that when he visited Whitgift on his death-bed, he expressed himself in these words:—"He would beg him (Whitgift) of God in his prayer; which, if he

* *Life of Whitgift*, Vol. II., pp. 467, 468.

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could obtain, he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given him in this kingdom." In answer to his Majesty, when he could hardly be understood, Whitgift's last words were—"*Pro Ecclesia Dei, Pro Ecclesia Dei;*" for the Church of God, for the Church of God.

The particular circumstances of his funeral are thus recorded:—"His corpse was carried to Croydon (where he had founded a lasting monument of his right Christian charity), and there honourably interred in the parish Church, March the 27th, 1604, with a decent solemnity, two noblemen, that had formerly been his pupils, mourners, and carrying his banners, *viz.*, the Earl of Worcester and Lord Zouch; and Dr. Babington, Bishop of Worcester, another of his *quondam* pupils at Trinity College, preaching at his funeral; taking for his text those words recorded of a great and good high priest—2 Chron. xxiv., 15, 16, '*Jehoiadah waxed old and full of days, and died, etc. And they buried him in the city of David, because he had done good in Israel, and towards God and his house.*' Where, by comparing our good Archbishop with that good high priest, he gave himself opportunity to show how much good he had done in our Israel, and towards God and his house. He lived and died in great reputation; and particularly happy in being highly esteemed for his wisdom, learning, and piety, by both his sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth and King James, who both consulted with him in all matters of the Church, and in making laws and orders for the well governing of it; and likewise in taking always his advice for proper men to be placed in the chief preferments of it. And who, seeing the great danger of the overthrow of the religion happily reformed at first, *viz.*, of the doctrine of it by Papists, and the discipline and constitution of it by

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the new reformers, devoted himself, his pains, his studies, his learning, his interest, to the preserving of it, wherein he had success to the end of his days, though through much opposition."*

Richard Bancroft, 1604—10, cannot be reckoned among the Archbishops resident at this Palace, since none of his Acts are dated from Croydon.

George Abbot, the son of a clothworker, was born at Guildford, in Surrey, on the 29th of October, 1562. He received the rudiments of education at the Grammar School of his native town, whence he removed to Balliol College, Oxford, of which in time he was chosen Fellow. In 1585 Abbot became M.A.; he took his degree of D.D. in 1597, and in the same year was elected Master of University College. In 1599 he was installed Dean of Winchester; Vice-Chancellor of Oxford in 1603, and again in 1605. A popular preacher, soon after he was ordained Abbot became Chaplain to Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, on whose decease, in 1608, he was appointed Chaplain to George Home, Earl of Dunbar, and Treasurer of Scotland. By the prudence of his suggestions, Dr. Abbot rendered important service to this royal favourite in the endeavour to establish Episcopacy in Scotland, and he thus paved the way for his own rapid preferment.

In 1604 the translation of the Bible now in use was ordered by King James, and fifty-four divines were selected

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* Strype.

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by the King for the work, of whom Dr. Abbot was appointed one. At the recommendation probably of Bancroft, the rule observed in translating was, that "the ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishop's Bible, should be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original would permit;"* and it was determined that "when any word had several significations, that which had been commonly used by the most celebrated fathers should be preferred, provided it were agreeable to the context and the analogy of faith."† The Bible was then divided into six portions, each of which was entrusted to a company of learned men; two of these companies assembled at each of the Universities: at Westminster Abbot took his place in the most important of all the companies, namely, that appointed to revise the translation of the Gospels, the Acts, and the Apocalypse. At length our present authorised version was completed, a work which has been much commended on account of its general accuracy.

In December, 1609, Dr. Abbot was consecrated Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, yet holding this Bishopric for one month only, in 1610 he was translated to the See of London, and soon after, namely, in March, 1611, King James nominated him to the Primacy of all England. At the bed-side of the dying Henry, Prince of Wales, Archbishop Abbot was a constant attendant: on the 14th of February, 1612, the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick the Elector Palatine were united in marriage by the Archbishop; a match of which he had been one of the chief promoters.

Archbishop Abbot's theology was of the Calvinistic stamp, and throughout life he continued a staunch advocate

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* Strype's *Whitgift*, Vol. II., 529. † Collier, vii., 339.

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of the principles of the Puritan party. Being at Croydon when King James's proclamation for permitting sports and pastimes upon the Lord's Day was ordered to be read in the churches, Archbishop Abbot peremptorily forbade its being read there. Nor was this the only occasion on which he set himself against the wishes of the Court, when these appeared to run counter to a higher allegiance he owed. Occasionally, however, Abbot was guilty of flattering James I., whose itch for adulation is well known.

His Grace, who used to go into Hampshire in the summer for the sake of recreation, was invited by Lord Zouch to hunt in his park at Bramshill, when he accidentally shot one of that nobleman's keepers with an arrow from a cross-bow, which he discharged at a buck; and the keeper bled to death in an hour. Advantage was taken of this misfortune by the Archbishop's enemies to allege that he had thereby incurred an irregularity, incapacitating him from discharging the duties of his office; and several bishops who were awaiting consecration now refused to receive it at the hands of a homicide. A commission having been appointed to enquire into the case, at length it answered that, as the offence was involuntary, the Archbishop was assoiled of all irregularity, scandal and infamation, and capable of the entire authority of a primate.* This sad accident threw the Archbishop into a deep melancholy, and ever afterwards he kept a weekly fast on Tuesday, the day on which the fatal mischance occurred; he also settled a handsome annuity upon the widow.

Archbishop Abbot founded a noble hospital at Guild-

* *Reliq. Spel.*, p. 124.

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ford. In King James's last illness he was sent for, and attended with great constancy till his Majesty expired, on the 27th March, 1625. He performed the ceremony of the coronation of King Charles I., although at the time very infirm, and much troubled with the gout.

The primate departed this life at Croydon Palace, A.D. 1633.

WILLIAM LAUD.—Amid jarring testimonies of prejudice and passion the facts concerning this unhappy prelate must be sought. William Laud, the son of a substantial clothier, was born at Reading in 1573. He received the rudiments of his education at the Free School of his native town, and being sent from there to the University of Oxford, at the age of sixteen years he was admitted a Commoner of St. John's College, and in 1590 he was chosen Scholar, and in 1593 a Fellow of that Society. He took his degree of M.A. in 1598: in 1600 he was ordained. During Laud's residence at the University he boldly asserted the perpetual visibility of the Church, as derived from the Apostles by the Romish Church, and therein continued until the period of the Reformation, an argument which gave great offence to Abbot, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Puritans, who held the theory of Calvinistic predestination. In May, 1603, he was chosen Proctor for the University, "without," says Wood, "any canvass, or seeking for it;" and soon after he was appointed Chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire. "It was an observation," wrote Archbishop Abbot, "what a sweet man this (Laud) was like to be, that the first observable act he did, was the marrying of the Earl of D. (Devon-

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shire) to the Lady R. (Rich), when it was notorious to the world that she had another husband, and the same a nobleman, who had divers children then living by her. King James did for many years like this so ill, that he would never hear of any great preferment of him." In 1604 Laud took his degree of B.D., and in the exercise which he performed on the occasion he laid down and defended two propositions,—first, the necessity of baptism; secondly, that there could be no true church without diocesan bishops: his opponents, however, charged him with having taken the greater part of his argument from the works of the famous Cardinal Bellarmine.

Laud's first preferment was the Vicarage of Stamford, in Northamptonshire, which he received in 1607; in the following year he obtained the advowson of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire. He now proceeded D.D., and on his being appointed chaplain to Dr. Neile, Bishop of Rochester, he exchanged his living of North Kilworth for the Rectory of West Tilbury, in Essex. In 1610 Bishop Neile presented him to the living of Cuckstone, in Kent, when he resigned his Fellowship of St. John's, and resided on his benefice, until the unhealthiness of the place compelled him to exchange for the less valuable living of Norton. Obtaining a Prebendal Stall in Westminster, on May 10th, 1611, Laud was elected President of St. John's College, Oxford. He became one of the royal chaplains, Prebendary of Bugden, Lincoln, and Archdeacon of Huntingdon. At length Dean of Gloucester, in 1616 Laud accompanied King James I. on a visit to Scotland, whom he pressed to bring the Scottish Church to a nearer conformity with that of England.* He was nominated to

* Heylin, pp. 72, 73.

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the bishopric of St. David's, but owing to the circumstance of Archbishop Abbot having accidentally killed one of Lord Zouch's gamekeepers, Laud scrupled to receive consecration at the hands of the primate, until the latter had been cleared of irregularity. On his elevation to the Episcopate, Laud resigned the Presidentship of St. John's, and many of the minor benefices he possessed.

By appointment of King James, a conference took place between Fisher, the famous Jesuit, and Laud, concerning the errors of the Church of Rome. An account of this celebrated controversy was published in 1624, and a justification of it by Laud himself in 1639. The ingenuity and learning Laud displayed at this conference acquired for him the friendship of the Duke of Buckingham, who made him his chaplain; yet, notwithstanding this connexion, he had the courage to oppose the Duke in his design to appropriate the funds of the Charter House for the maintenance of the King's army.

Charles I. having ascended the throne, Bishop Laud became his principal adviser in affairs of the Church; but the general history of this momentous period was agitated with a spirit of religious and political fermentation. On the 16th of August, 1626, Laud was translated to the See of Bath and Wells. Acting on the command of Charles I., about this time the prelate drew up certain instructions for the clergy of the Kingdom respecting a subsidy; for Charles's first and second Parliaments having refused to grant the King the usual supplies, and the crown plate and jewels being pledged already, the King, to preserve his royal dignity and honour towards his continental allies, had recourse to this expedient. Yet it set a dangerous precedent of taxing the people without the consent of Parliament, or without an investigation of its necessity by

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their representatives in the Lower House, and in the end contributed to render the King and Bishop still more unpopular. As an act of special favour Charles now appointed Laud, Dean of the Chapel Royal; and on July 15th, 1629, he was finally translated from Bath and Wells to the diocese of London.

Laud was at Croydon assisting at the consecration of Bishop Montague when he heard of the assassination of his friend the Duke of Buckingham, and the grief he experienced on the occasion is expressed in the prayers he inserted in his manual of private devotions. He now caused the ancient but mutilated Statutes of the University of Oxford to be collected and arranged, in order, as he himself says, that a large Charter might be procured for Oxford, "to confirm the ancient privileges, and obtain new ones for them, as extensive as those of Cambridge, which they had got since Henry VIII., which Oxford had not."* One of the Bishop's first acts after his translation to London was to procure a Royal Declaration to be prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, prohibiting all persons under the degree of a bishop, and who were priests of the Church of England, to misconstrue these Articles, or pervert them from their literal sense to support the doctrines of Calvin, or of any individual whatever; but the House of Commons passed a vote against the King's Declaration, the spirit of dissatisfaction increased, and Laud, with the Lord Treasurer Weston, was charged with being the cause of various violent measures of government. After the death of the Duke of Buckingham, the King entrusted the chief management of English affairs to Bishop Laud; James, Marquis of Hamilton, administered the govern-

* *Diary*, pp. 68, 69.

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ment of Scotland; the third great personage at the Court of Charles I., to whom were committed the affairs of Ireland, was Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, between whom and Laud an extraordinary friendship existed: these three statesmen were all destined to fall victims to popular fury.

In 1630 Laud was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford. As Dean of the Chapel Royal he baptized the infant Prince, afterwards Charles II.; he also baptized James II. It has been charged to Bishop Laud that he was concerned in the cruel sentence passed on Dr. Leighton for publishing a volume entitled, "An Appeal to the Parliament, or Zion's Plea against Prelacy," and for which he was sentenced by the Star Chamber and High Commission to be imprisoned in the Fleet Prison during life; to pay a fine of £10,000 to the King; to be degraded from the ministry, placed in pillory, and twice publicly whipped; to have his ears cut off, his nose slit, and his forehead branded with S.S., for *seditious slanderer;* yet although Laud did take part when a similar revolting sentence was passed upon Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, there is no evidence that he was present at the trial of Leighton.

Besides the punctual visitation of his diocese, Laud zealously promoted the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, until the violence of the times caused that work to be suspended.

In 1633 Laud again attended his sovereign on a visit to Scotland, when Charles I. was crowned King of Scots, at Holyrood Palace, on the 18th of June. On this visit the English Liturgy was read at Divine Service in the Chapel Royal; it gave much offence to the Scots: and Edinburgh was also erected into an Episcopal See, to the still greater exasperation of the Presbyterians. Bishop

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Laud was formally translated to the See of Canterbury on September 19th, 1633, and in the same month he was elected Chancellor of the University of Dublin. He did a service to the Irish Church by obtaining for its clergy, from the King, a grant of all the crown impropriations; he procured also a Royal Charter for the College at Dublin. The year 1635 found the Archbishop busy in his design of restoring to their ancient splendour the Church at Canterbury, and those other Cathedrals which had fallen into decay; he also repaired the chapel of Croydon Palace, for to this place he used often to retire. On the 29th and 30th of August, 1636, King Charles I. and his Queen were entertained at Oxford by the Primate as Chancellor of the University: on this occasion the royal party visited the inner quadrangle of St. John's College, which, then recently finished, remains a monument of the taste and munificence of Laud.

The Archbishop was again concerned in the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. In 1635, after a revisal by Laud and Bishops Juxon and Wren, the Book of Canons was finished. Not long after, the Liturgy, also revised by the same prelates, was, by a Royal Proclamation, commanded to be read in all Scottish Churches. This Liturgy, however, met with an unfavourable reception, for when the Dean of Edinburgh, in his surplice, began the service in St. Giles' Church, on July 23rd, 1637, an old woman, named Janet Geddes, cried, "Out, out, thou false thief; dost thou say mass at my lugg?" and dangerous tumults arising, led to the introduction of the well known "Solemn League and Covenant," and a concurrence between the Presbyterians of the North and the leaders of the Puritan party in England. The uproar terminated in the des-

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truction of the Archbishop, and the overthrow of the Monarchy.

The House of Commons voted Laud a traitor, and the order for the Primate's committal being carried up to the House of Lords, he was given into the custody of Black Rod. On the 26th of February, 1640—1, the articles of the Archbishop's impeachment, in number fourteen, were carried up to the Lords, and they were severally read to him at the Bar. It was charged to Laud that he had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the Kingdom, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; and that he had wickedly endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England to that of Rome, etc. In the history of his "Troubles and Trials," the Archbishop has separately answered these articles. Laud was committed to the Tower, where he languished for nearly three years ere his enemies brought him to trial. His trial lasted five months, and in the end he was condemned to suffer death. With undaunted courage and a cheerful countenance, in the presence of a vast mob, Laud mounted the scaffold on Tower Hill, January 10th, 1644—5. Having finished his dying address, and prayed, the Archbishop laid his head on the block, and when he had said, "Lord, receive my soul," which was the signal for the executioner, his head was struck off at one blow.

Laud's error consisted in his endeavouring to force the Scots and Irish, as well as all the people of England, into a conformity with an ideal Episcopacy, as if there were no Christianity and no salvation outside the pale of Anglicanism. Yet he was not more intolerant than those bigots who thirsted for his blood, and to most of them he was superior in virtue and learning. He prevailed on Dr.

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Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, to write his celebrated treatise, "Episcopacy by Divine Right asserted." It was owing to Archbishop Laud that the learned William Chillingworth renounced Popery, and that the "ever memorable" John Hales was converted from Socinianism. Oxford was much indebted to the munificence and liberality of Laud, who presented to that University no fewer than *thirteen hundred MSS.*, in the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Egyptian, Ethiopian, Armenian, Persian, Arabic, Russian, Turkish, Japanese, Chinese, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Saxon, English, and Irish languages, as the inscription in the Bodleian Library sets forth. For the promotion of Oriental learning Laud founded at Oxford an Arabic Lectureship, which he conferred on the distinguished Orientalist, Dr. Edward Pococke: he likewise annexed a Canonry to the Professorship of Hebrew.

After the impeachment of Laud, a gap of twenty years, from 1640 to 1660, occurred in the Archiepiscopal occupation of Croydon Palace. During the earlier part of the period referred to, this mansion, with the adjoining lands, was leased to Charles, Earl of Nottingham, and afterwards the estate was granted by the Parliamentary Commissioners to Sir William Brereton, Bart., who resided here during the Protectorate. A distinguished Parliamentary general and Round-head, as such Sir William was cordially detested by the Cavaliers, and a scribbler of the latter party has described him as "a notable man at a thanksgiving dinner, having terrible long teeth, and a prodigious stomach, to turn the Archbishop's chapel at Croydon into

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a kitchen, also to swallow up that palace and lands at a morsel."*

William Juxon was born at Chichester in 1582. He received his education at Merchant Taylors School, whence he removed to St. John's College, Oxford, of which he became a Fellow in 1598. He studied law, and having taken the degree of B.A., about 1603 he was admitted a student at Gray's Inn. In 1609 Juxon was Vicar of St. Giles', Oxford; from thence he removed to the Rectory of Somerton, in Oxfordshire. President of St. John's in 1621, in 1626 and 1627 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University. Juxon was a Prebendary of Chichester, Chaplain to Charles I., and Dean of Worcester; and through the influence of Bishop Laud he was appointed Clerk of his Majesty's Closet. Early in 1633 he became Dean of the Chapel Royal, and was elected Bishop of Hereford, yet, before he was consecrated, the Bishopric of London becoming vacant by the promotion of Laud to the Primacy, Juxon was translated to the latter See. On the recommendation of Archbishop Laud in 1635 Bishop Juxon was appointed Lord High Treasurer of England, an appointment which gave general dissatisfaction, as no ecclesiastic had held this office since the days of Henry VII. Nevertheless Juxon filled it with prudence until the disturbances having commenced, in 1641 he resigned the White Staff. When the question of the Earl of Strafford's attainder was perplexing Charles I., and the bishop was applied to for advice, unlike the other counsellors who pressed the King to comply with the votes of Parliament,

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* *The Mystery of the Good Old Cause Briefly Unfolded*, 1660.

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and sign the warrant for the execution of that noble, Juxon told the King that "he ought to do nothing with an unsatisfied conscience upon any consideration in the world."

Bishop Juxon was one of the three English bishops to whom the supervision of the Scotch Liturgy was commended by the King. In 1646 that ordinance was made by which the name, dignity, and function of all Archbishops and Bishops were abolished, and their lands were alienated to be vested in trustees, or to be sold to meet the public expenses. Two years afterwards Juxon was with the King in the Isle of Wight. On the removal of Charles I. to the Metropolis the bishop was summoned by the King, upon whom he tenderly waited from the commencement of his trial till the 30th of January, 1649, the day on which King Charles was executed in front of Whitehall. On that dreadful morning Bishop Juxon accompanied his sovereign on to the scaffold. A dignified calmness characterised the demeanour of the King, who viewed undismayed the apparatus of death, and the countless crowd of spectators that, far as the eye could scan, surged behind the swords of the soldiery. While the King was preparing himself for the block, Bishop Juxon said to him, "There is but one stage more; it is a turbulent and troublesome, but a short one. It will soon carry you a great way. It will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you will find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten,—a crown of glory." "I go," replied his Majesty, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown." "You exchange," rejoined Juxon, "an earthly for an eternal crown,—a good exchange." Charles having taken off his cloak, delivered the insignia of the garter, usually called the George, to the prelate, pronouncing the word "Remember." Being ready,

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the King laid his neck on the block, when, stretching out his hand as a signal, the axe descended, and the head rolled from the body. A deep groan bursting from the multitude testified their horror at the sad spectacle. The faithful bishop, and Mr. Herbert, then took their deceased master's body and head, and after embalming them, placed them in a coffin, and reverently buried them in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor.

Another name besides that of Juxon is associated both with the martyrdom of Charles I., and with the history of our immediate neighbourhood, but to this other name a sterner interest attaches. Within a few yards of the southern boundary of the parish of Croydon stands Purleybury, the house, it is said, in which once lived Sergeant John Bradshaw, who presided over the so-called High Court of Justice that pronounced Charles Stuart "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth of England;" and for his "treason and crimes" condemned the King to death.*

During the Commonwealth Juxon retired to his estate in Little Compton, Gloucestershire, where he lived like a country gentleman, excepting that every Sunday, at Chastleton House, in the vicinity, in spite of the penalties attached to an attendance on Divine service according to

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* See Introduction to Horne Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*. Purley in the time of the Commonwealth belonged to Major Audeley, one of the Commissioners for regulating Church Benefices, and who, in 1650, had a commission from Cromwell to raise a troop of horse in Surrey, for defence of it, and the Commonwealth, against enemies foreign or domestic.—*Manning and Bray's Surrey*, Vol. II., p. 572. The picturesque old house in which President Bradshaw resided at Walton, Surrey, also still exists, but in a decayed condition.

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the rites of the Church of England, the bishop did not fear to perform that service. In his retirement he composed his sermon on the death of Charles I.

"Juxon," observes Dr. Hook, "was the last of the primates who asserted the rights of an episcopal baron to pursue the sports of the field." We are informed by Whitelock "that Juxon delighted in hunting, and kept a pack of good hounds, so well ordered and hunted, chiefly of his own skill and direction, that they exceeded all other hounds in England for the pleasure and orderly hunting of them. He was a person of great parts and temper, and had as much command of himself as of his hounds."* "The bishop had conferred a great obligation on a gentleman in his neighbourhood, and refused to receive any kind of return. 'Give me leave,' said the gentleman, 'to add at least one staunch hound to your pack?' This was an offer which the bishop could not resist; the dog was to be sent; it came; on its collar the name was engraved 'Jowler.' Jowler was a silver drinking-cup, and the bishop was evidently amused by the determined gratitude of his friend. It became a law of the house that every stranger should take off Jowler's head at a draught."†

On the Restoration, in 1660, Juxon was appointed to the primacy, he had become, however, an old man, and laboured under an incurable complaint. He placed the crown upon the head of King Charles II.; it was his last public appearance. He was unable to take part in the Savoy Conference, and too infirm to attend the Convocation of 1661—2, in which various alterations in the Prayer

* Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 324.

† *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. XI., p. 421.

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Book were made, that were finally ratified by the Act of Uniformity which received the Royal Assent on the 19th of May, 1662.

Besides other munificent acts, Archbishop Juxon spent a considerable sum in the repair of Croydon Palace. He expired on the 4th of June, 1663, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford.

Archbishop Sheldon was born at Stanton, in Staffordshire, in 1598. His father, though descended from an ancient family, was but a menial servant of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury. Sheldon took his name from the Earl, who was his godfather. Having laid the foundation of a good education, he was entered of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1613, and after taking the usual degrees, was elected Fellow of All Souls' College in 1622. After he had taken orders, he became chaplain to Lord Keeper Coventry, who made use of his services on various important occasions. As a reward for these services, he presented him with a prebend of Gloucester, and recommended him to King Charles I., as one who was well versed in political affairs. On the 2nd of May, 1633, his Majesty presented him to the vicarage of Hackney, in Middlesex. He was also Rector of Ickford, in Buckinghamshire; and Archbishop Laud gave him the rectory of Newington, in Oxfordshire. Proceeding B.D. Nov. 11, 1628, he took the degree of D.D. June 25, 1634; and in 1635 he was elected Warden of All Souls' College. He was also Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, and Clerk of his Closet, and in the road to further preferment, when the Civil Wars broke out, and checked his career. He was a zealous adherent of the

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Royal cause, and was one of the Chaplains whom his Majesty sent for, to attend his Commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge.

On account of his loyalty he was ejected from his wardenship, and imprisoned for six months. Being liberated, he retired to his friends in the country, and from his own purse, and the contributions of other Royalists, sent frequent supplies to Charles II. during his exile. Dr. Palmer, who had been intruded into his wardenship, dying March 4, 1659—60, Sheldon again became warden of All Souls', without, however, taking repossession, and continued so till the January following. He then became possessed of the mastership of the Savoy, which he kept till 1663. On the Restoration, he received ample rewards for his sufferings and steady loyalty, being restored to his offices, and promoted to the See of London. He was consecrated October 28th, 1660.

The conference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Divines, in 1661, was held at the Savoy, in Bishop Sheldon's lodgings. He is accused, by the opposite party, of want of fairness on this occasion. Rejecting the proposal of an amicable conference, he told the Presbyterian Divines, "That not the Bishops, but *they*, had been seekers of the conference, and desired alterations in the Liturgy;" and that, "therefore, there was nothing to be done till they had brought in all they had to say against it in writing, and all the additional forms and alterations which they desired." He did not often appear at the conference, and never entered into disputation, yet he was known to have had a principal share in the determination. To conciliate was certainly not his object, for when it was debated in Council, in August, 1662, whether the Act of Uniformity should be punctually executed that month, or

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be suspended for a time, Bishop Sheldon pleaded against the suspension, and carried the Council with him. "If," says his biographer, "in these and other instances he appears too much the political churchman, in public spirit and munificence he sustained, after an exemplary manner, the character of a great prelate. He expended large sums upon the episcopal houses of the See of London, and being in 1663 translated to that of Canterbury, he rebuilt the library at Lambeth, and made many additions to its contents."

In the year 1667 Archbishop Sheldon honourably lost the King's confidence for advising him to put away his mistress, Barbara Villiers, and never recovered it again.

On the removal of Lord Clarendon from the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, Archbishop Sheldon was elected to succeed him, on December 20th, 1667, and and he immortalised his name in that University by the erection, at his sole expense, of the celebrated theatre which bears his name.* Immediately after the opening of this edifice, the Archbishop resigned the Chancellorship, and retired from public business. During the latter part of his life he chiefly resided at Croydon. He died on the 9th of November, 1677, in the 80th year of his age.

Sheldon's character has been variously represented, as must be expected, in the reports of contending parties. As some excuse for any unnecessary severity that he may have exercised, it is but fair to remember the injury and sufferings that he had himself undergone. He was a very generous and charitable man. During the time of the

* The Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford was Wren's first executed building, and he was upwards of thirty years old before he commenced it.—ELMES'S *Sir C. Wren and his Times.*

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Great Plague he firmly continued at Lambeth, notwithstanding the extremity of the danger, and, with his diffusive charity, preserved great numbers alive that would otherwise have perished; also, by his affecting letters to all the bishops, he procured great sums to be returned out of all parts of his province.

Archbishop Sheldon never published anything but "A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, upon June the 28th, 1660, being the Day of Solemn Thanksgiving for the happy Return of His Majesty," on Psalm xviii. 49. London, 1660. It was at the earnest request of Archbishop Sheldon and the Lord Chancellor Hyde, that Dugdale completed the collection, began by Sir Henry Spelman, for his intended second volume of the *Provincial Councils* in England: the volume referred to was inaccurately printed in 1664.*

William Sancroft, 1678—1691.—
John Tillotson, 1691—1694.—
Thomas Tenison, 1694—1715.—

} The two first-named prelates do not appear to have lived at Croydon Palace, and of Archbishop Tenison's residence here we can say nothing.

William Wake descended from the same noble families whence sprang the Saxon Hereward, famous for daring patriotic exploits against the Norman oppressor. Hereward, surnamed de Wake, or le Wake, was lord of Brunne (now Bourn, near Croyland Abbey, and not far from the

* *Fasti Oxoniensis.*

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marsh-environed Isle of Ely) and of Depyng; the latter estate continued in the family of Wake until the early part of the 16th century.

William was born in the year 1657, at Blandford, in Dorsetshire. He made rapid progress through all parts of school learning. At the age of fifteen he was admitted a student of Christ Church College, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A. in 1676, and M.A. in 1679. Obtaining ordination in 1682, as chaplain he accompanied Viscount Preston, Envoy Extraordinary from Charles II. to the court of France. One of Wake's occupations at Paris was the searching after ancient Greek MSS. of the New Testament, for the purpose of having them collated. At the commencement of the reign of James II. he returned to England, and soon after was elected preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn. Siding with the Revolution, after that event Wake became Deputy Clerk of the Closet to King William and Queen Mary. Upon July 5th, 1689, he was created D.D., having in the preceding month been collated to a Canonry in Christ Church, Oxford. Presented to the Rectory of St. James, Westminster, in 1694, in 1701 he was installed Dean of Exeter. Upon the 21st of October, 1705, Wake was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, whence, after the accession of George I., and on the demise of Dr. Tenison, he was nominated to the Metropolitan See, and confirmed January 16th, 1715—16.*

This learned prelate benevolently endeavoured to heal the differences which disturbed the union of the Protestant churches abroad. He also wished to promote an alliance

* *Reg.* WAKE.

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between the English and Gallican Churches; yet, from the correspondence that was carried on during the years 1717 and 1718, between Dr. Wake and certain Doctors of the Sorbonne, at Paris, relative to the proposed union, it is clear that his Grace was neither inclined to depart from the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, nor disposed to make any concession to the ambitious pretensions of the Church of Rome.* The spirit that actuated the Archbishop is visible in the following extract from a letter which he wrote to Father Courayer from Croydon House, on July 9, 1724:—"I bless God that I was born and have been bred in an episcopal church; which I am convinced has been the government established in the Christian church from the very times of the Apostles. But I should be unwilling to affirm, that where the ministry is not episcopal, there is *no church*, nor any *true* administration of the sacraments. And very many there are among us, who are zealous for episcopacy, and yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry."

Archbishop Wake was the author of many controversial and theological works. In 1693 appeared "The genuine epistles of the apostolical fathers; the shepherd of Hermas; and the martyrdoms of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp; translated and publish'd with a large preliminary discourse." Of this important performance a second edition, corrected and much improved by the author, was published in 1710, London, 8vo. In 1703 came out Wake's celebrated

* A circumstantial account, by Dr. Maclaine, of the important correspondence that took place on the occasion referred to, will be found in the Appendix of Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, 2nd revised ed. Vol. IV., Lond. 1850.

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work, entitled "The state of the Church and Clergy of England, in their councils, synods, convocations, conventions, and other publick assemblies, historically deduced from the conversion of the Saxons to the present times. With a large appendix of original writs and other instruments." Folio, London. The catalogue of the Bodleian Library contains a full list of Wake's publications.

This prelate affectionately supported the interests of the first Protestant mission in India. His Grace left behind him six daughters, all of whom were married into families of note. He bequeathed a valuable collection of printed books, MSS., and coins to Christ Church College, Oxford; the college at which he had received his education.

Mills dedicated his Essay on Generosity to Archbishop Wake. Like many of the old prefaces, it is rather fulsome; in it, however, it is stated as a fact, that the Archbishop expended £11,000 on the repairs of the two palaces of Lambeth and Croydon, besides giving above £700 to rebuild the old vicarage house of Croydon.

Worn out by age and infirmities, Archbishop Wake died at Lambeth Palace on the 24th of January, 1736—37. He was interred in a private manner in Croydon Church.

Archbishop Potter was the son of a Yorkshire linen draper, and was born at Wakefield, in 1674. He early discovered a great aptitude for learning, particularly in the Greek language. At fourteen years of age he was sent to Oxford, where, having taken the degree of B.A., in 1694 Potter was elected Fellow of Lincoln College; and he proceeded M.A. on October 16th of the same year. In 1697 appeared his beautiful edition of Lycophron's

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Alexandra; and in the same year, the first volume of his *Archæologiæ Græcæ:* these productions established his reputation as a scholar. He was ordained priest by Bishop Hough, January 4th, 1699. Commencing B.D. July 8th, 1704, that same year he was appointed chaplain to Archbishop Tenison, to reside with whom he then removed to the Palace at Lambeth. Upon the 18th of April, 1706, Potter proceeded D.D.; soon after he became Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Anne; in 1708, through the influence of the great Duke of Marlborough, he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. It was King George I. who raised Dr. Potter to the See of Oxford, of which he was consecrated Bishop on the 15th May, 1715.

In the celebrated Bangorian controversy Bishop Potter took an active part. He preached the coronation sermon on the accession of George II., who, upon the death of Dr. Wake, promoted Bishop Potter to the See of Canterbury; he was confirmed February 28th, 1736—37. A list of this learned prelate's publications is printed in the continuation of Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, Vol. IV., pp. 462, 463. He died October 10th, 1747.

Thomas Herring, the son of a clergyman, was born in the year 1693. He received the rudiments of education in the Grammar School at Wisbeach. At the age of seventeen he entered Jesus College, Cambridge, where he obtained the degree of B.A. in 1714, and that of M.A. about three years after. He took orders in 1719, and was successively minister of the several parishes of Great

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Sheeford, Stow, and Trinity in Cambridge. In the year 1722, Herring became chaplain to Dr. Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely, who gave him the rectories of Rettenden, in Essex, and Barclay, in Hertfordshire. In 1726 he was nominated preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn; and about the same time was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. Herring obtained from Cambridge the degree of D.D. in 1728. Rector of Bletchingly, and also Dean of Rochester in 1731; he was promoted in 1737 by King George II. to the See of Bangor, and in 1743 translated to the Archbishopric of York.

It was fortunate for the Kingdom that a prelate so noted for his attachment to civil and religious liberty filled the important office of Archbishop of York at the critical moment of the Jacobite Rebellion. Prince Charles, eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George, landing in Scotland, had taken possession of Edinburgh; when, attacking with his highlanders, Sir John Cope, at Preston Pans, on the 21st of September, 1745, the King's troops were routed. Amidst the consternation occasioned by this unlooked-for event, Archbishop Herring patriotically rallied the nobility, gentry, and clergy of the north. In an animated speech, delivered at a great meeting held at York, His Grace called upon all true Britons to rally round their happy Constitution, and unite as one man against the Pretender. The vast assemblage warmly entered into the Archbishop's views, and a large sum of money was subscribed on the spot, to raise troops for the defence of the country.

Upon the decease of Archbishop Potter, in 1747, Dr. Herring was elevated to the See of Canterbury. Much to his credit, this prelate gave the very learned Jortin marked promotion. Yet, because Herring denounced the "Beggar's Opera" from the pulpit, in revenge, Dean

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Swift calls him "a stupid, injudicious, and prostitute divine."*

Archbishop Herring left no great literary work behind, but various of his sermons and tracts are in print. A list appears in the catalogue of the British Museum Library. This prelate drew his last breath at Croydon Palace. According to his own request, Archbishop Herring was buried without any pomp or parade; he expressly forbade that any monument should be erected to his memory.†

Matthew Hutton was the lineal descendant of Dr. Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York in the 16th century. He studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, and became, first Bishop of Bangor, then Archbishop of York, and lastly Archbishop of Canterbury. He was nominated by the King in Council on the 29th March, 1757,‡ and the usual *congé d'elire* and letter missive were sent to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to elect him.§ He was elected 13th April; the Royal assent to his election was given 15th April;‡ he was confirmed on the 29th, and on the 30th of the same month the temporalities were restored to him.§ He died March 19th, 1758; having filled the chair of St. Augustine less than a year.

With the above reference we conclude our series of

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* *Intelligencer*, No 3.

† Archbishop Herring spent upwards of £6,000 in the reparation and fitting up of Croydon Palace, yet, notwithstanding this large outlay, his successor, Archbishop Hutton, sued his executors for dilapidations; and, dying before the suit was terminated, Archbishop Secker recovered damages amounting to £1,564 4s. 11d.

‡ *Church Book, Home Office.* § *London Gazette.*

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biographic notices of bygone occupants of Croydon Palace, since Hutton was the last Archbishop of Canterbury who took up his abode in this old mansion ere it fell into decay. Pity it is that some portion at least of a tenement of so much historic interest had not been better preserved. For learned prelates, head-shepherds of the flock of Christ, and illustrious statesmen in their day and generation have been these old lords of the manor of Croydon, whose chief glory it is to be associated with their memories.

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APPENDIX.

No. III.

[*From* "CHARTÆ MISCELLANEÆ," *in the Archives of Lambeth, Vol. XIII. No.* 16.]

Com' Sur'.

Parcell of the Possessions of the late dissolved Archbishopricke of Canterbury.

All those free rents of assize belonging to the said mannor of Croyden, per ann. . . . . lviii l. xiii s. vi d.

All those ffines of borougholders . . . . xxiiii l. xi. ob.

The farm of all that the scyte mannor or . . . . . se of Croyden, with a chappell wainscotted, a grainary, and all houses, outhouses, court yards, and other yards and stables thereunto belonging, encompassed with a faire court yard on the north, a small running water east and south, and the church yard west, and of all that great garden and fruite howse, with all other gardens, orchards, pidgeon howse, waters, and three fish ponds fenced on the west with a brick wall on the south, with a small running water and a hedge on the east, with another hedge belonging to the howse keepers meadowe, on the north, with a water which parteth the aforesaid gardens and the said meadows, per ann. . . . . xl l.

The farme of all that meadowe called Birch Meadowe, contayninge by estimason 4 acres and an half, per ann. vi. l. xv s.

The farme of all that meadowe called Stubbs Meadow, containinge, by estimason, 30 acres, per ann. xxx l.

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The farme of all those two meadowes called Northbury Meadows, containinge 18 acres, per ann. . . xvi ł. xiii s.

The farme of all that howse called the Parke Howse, situate and being in Croyden Parke, with all howses, one barne, one stable, one orchard and garden thereunto belonging, containinge in the whole two acres or thereabouts, per ann. . . . . vi ł.

The farme of all that feild called Hillyfield, lying on the south of the said Park House, containinge, by estimation, 6 acres or thereabouts, per ann. . . xxx s.

The farme of all that meadowe called Parke Meade, containinge 16 acres, per ann. . . . . xi ł. iiii s.

The farme of all that close of pasture called Mareclose, containinge 11 acres, per ann. . . . . cx s.

The farme of all that feild of pasture called Oakefeild, containinge 6 acres, per ann. . . . . lx s.

The farme of all that feild of pasture called Roundhill, containinge 11 acres or thereabouts, per ann. lxxiii s. iiii d.

The farme of all that feild of pasture called Wheatefeild, containinge 4 acres and an half, per ann. . xlv s.

The farme of all that feild of pasture called Ruttingefeild, containinge 18 acres, per ann. . . . ix ł.

The farme of all that feild of pasture called Layfeild, containinge 8 acres, per ann. . . . . iiii ł.

The farme of all that feild of pasture called the Lowefeild, containinge 4 acres, per ann.. . . xl s.

The farme of all that field of pasture called Lower Goers, containinge 10 acres, per ann. . . . c s.

The farme of all that field of pasture called Cowpast, containinge 13 acres, per ann. . . . . vi ł. x s.

The improvement of Bushy Parke, being grubbed, per ann. . . . . x ł. xv s.

The farme of all that field called Bushy Parke, containinge 34 acres, 3 roods, and 20 perches, per ann. vi ł. v s.

The farme of all that close called Oatefield al' Pickedfeild, containing 6 acres, 1 rood, 24 perches, per ann. . . . . lx s.

The farme of the vesture of all that coppice called the Parke Coppice, containinge 15 acres, per ann. . lxxv s.

The farme of the vesture of all that wood called Biggin Great Coppice, containinge 64 acres, 3 roods, 21 perches and an half, per ann. . . . . ix ł. xv s.

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The farme of the vesture of all that coppice called Bewdly, containinge 22 acres and 20 perches, per ann. . . . . lxxiii s. iiii d.

The farme of the vesture of all that coppice called Windalls, containinge 21 acres and 30 perches, per ann. . . . . lxx s.

The farme of the vesture of all that coppice called Shelverdins, containinge 18 acres, 1 rood, and 10 perches, per ann. . . . . lx l. xi s.

The farm of the vesture of all that coppice called Stakepitt, containinge 71 acres and 30 perches, per ann. . . . . xi . xiii s. i d.

The farme of the vesture of all that coppice called Gravelly Hill, containinge 27 acres, 2 roods, and 27 perches, per ann. . . . . iiii l. xi s. viii d.

The farme of the vesture of all that coppice called Little Stakepitt, containinge 8 acres, 2 roods, and 33 perches, per ann. . . . . xxix s.

The farm of all that lodge in Croydon Parke, with a barne, stable, outhouses, garden, and orchard thereunto belonging, after the death of Francis Lee, Gentleman, who now holdeth the same during his life, by a patent thereof, dated the 25th day of November, a° 1637, as keeper of the said parke and reeve of the woods belonging to the said archbishopricke of Canterbury, in the county of Surrey, per ann. . . . . Nil.

The profits of two faires to be kept . . . . xii s.

All those the royalties of hawkinge, huntinge, fowlinge, fishinge, courts leet, courts baron, liberties, fines, issues, amerciaments, heriots, waifs, estrayes, escheats, deodands, tresures trove, felons' goods, and wrecks of sea, &c. . . . . Nil.

The perquisites and profits of courts leet and courts baron belonging to the said manor. . . . Nil.

The mannor of Croyden is valued to be worth cclxxiiii l. xix s. ix d. ob.

Timber and Underwoods.

Fifty-two elms, 5 birch trees, and 1 ash, neere about the mansion-house of Croyden aforesaid . . . xxx l.

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Timber growinge and being upon the aforesaid field called Cowpasture . . . . . cc l.
Timber pollards and bushes growing and being upon Bushy Parke aforesaid . . . . . cccc l.
Timber growinge and beinge upon the parke coppice . . . . . xl l.
Woods and underwoods groweinge and being upon the parke coppice aforesaid . . . . . xxx l.
Woods and underwoods groweing and being upon Biggin great coppice aforesaid . . . . . lxxi l.
Woods and underwoods groweing and being upon Bewdley coppice aforesaid . . . . . xxii l.
Timber and pollards there . . . . . vii l. x s.
Woods and underwoods groweing and being upon Windalle's coppice aforesaid . . . . . xxi l. v s.
Timber and pollards there . . . . . x l.
Woods and underwoods groweing and being upon Shelverden's coppice aforesaid. . . . . xxi l. xi s.
Timber and pollards there . . . . . vi l.
Woods and underwoods groweing and being upon Great Stakepitt aforesaid. . . . . xxxv l. xii s.
One hundred and fifty small trees, or thereabouts, being timber and pollards growinge and being upon Great Stakepitt aforesaid . . . . . xxx l.
Woods and underwoods growing and being upon Gravelly Hill coppice aforesaid . . . . . xliiii l.
Thirty small timber trees and pollards there . . lxxv l.
Woods and underwoods growing and being on Little Stakepitt aforesaid . . . . . xxix s.
Timber and pollards growing and being there . . iiii l. x s.
Eighty timber trees growing and being upon one wood called Norwood, lying in the parish of Croyden, and part thereof in the parish of Lambeth . l l.
Nine thousand two hundred oaken pollards, with the tops and lops, growing and being upon the wood aforesaid, which wood containeth eight hundred and thirty trees . . . . . mmccxl l.
The small spray of all pollards, when the same are lopped for coaling, the small spray of every coppice wood, as they are felled, and all dotard and rotten trees, and the bark of all trees yearly felled, being an increase of profit to be made of the woods after

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the death of the said Francis Lee, which is certified to be granted to him during his life, by the patent above mentioned	Nil.
Timber and timber-like trees upon the lease lands of Adam Torlis, Gentleman.	iiiiviiij. xiij s. iiij d.

Reprizes uncertain.

To Francis Lee, by patent dated the 25th November, 1637, as keeper of the park of Croyden, and reeve of the woods in the county of Surrey, all that lodge in the park of Croyden, with a barn, stable, outhouses, garden, and orchard thereunto belonging, for his life	Nil.
To him, for grass for two cows or oxen in the park, per ann.	x j.
To him, for a fee of two pence per diem, per ann. .	lx s. xd.
To him, more, the small spray of all pollards, when they are lopped for coaling, with the small spray of every coppice wood as they are felled, with dotard or rotten trees, and the bark of all trees yearly felled, and allowance for making and mending the fences about the woods which is not valued . .	Nil.
To Ralph Watts, Gentleman, and Sir George Askew, Knt., all profits, trees, and advantages belonging to the housekeeper's place, granted to them by patent, dated the 10th November, 1630	Nil.
To Walter Dobson, Gentleman, for his life, as steward of the archbishop's liberties in the county of Surrey, the moyety of all casuall profits of the said archbishop's royaltyes within the said county, granted to him by patent, dated the 25th November, 1632, and by him assigned on the 3rd day of June, 1636, to Mr. Watts	
To John Dendy and Thomas Smith, during their lives, as bailiffs of the mannor and libertyes of Croyden, a fee of iiij j. yearly, granted by patent, dated the 25th January, 1638, to be issuing out of the profits accrewing to the said mannor, and paid at Lady-day and Michaelmas half-yearly, and liberty to enter and distrain upon any part of the said manor, for default of payment thereof	iiij j.
	xvij j. x s.

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Mem.—The premises (except the Gatehouse) were in the possession of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and are parcel of the possessions of the said late bishoprick.

The extents of the manors are not certified.

The quitt rents are collected by reeves yearly chosen of the tennants, and payd in without allowance.

Upon the death of every freeholder, one yeare's quitt rent is to be payd.

Upon alienason, one penny is due by the purchaser for fealty, but nothing for releif.

Upon the death of every coppyholder dying seized of any coppyhold lyinge without the four crosses, there is due the best beast for a heriott; if he have none, then 3 s. 6 d. in lieu of a dead heriott.

If a stranger purchase any of the coppyholds, the fine is uncertaine; but, upon a descent, the heir is to pay one year's quit rent for a fine.

Upon every surrender to any use or uses, 3 s. 6 d. is to be paid in lieu of a heriott.

The several uncertaine profits before mentioned are not valued *communibus annis* by the survey, nor any other perquisites or profits of courts or royalties, but it is certified that several beadles are to be chosen out of the tenants, who are to collect and accompt for the same, without allowance.

The Lord's interest on Shurley Heath common, containing 300 acres, and in Croyden Heath, containing 340 acres, and in Thornton Heath and Broad Green, containing 20 acres, (in all which commons the tenants have common sans stint), is not valewed by the survey.

The Lord's interest in Norwood, containing 830 acres, wherein the inhabitants of Croyden have herbage for all manner of cattle, mastage for their swine without stint, and all furze, bushes, broome, and underwoods, is not valewed by the survey.

The tenn pounds fifteen shillings improvement for Bushy Park is over and above the rent reserved; but without the same be first grubbed, the said improvement is not to be made.

The yearly value of the premises, with the improvement of Bushy Park, per ann. 274*l.* 19*s.* 9½*d.*

The value of timber pollards and underwoods is 3356*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*

The total value of the reprises, during the lives of Francis Lee, John Dendy, and Thomas Smith is 17*l.*

The materials of the house to be taken down and sold, are valewed at 1200*l.*

It is not certified that these values are as the same were worth in the year 1641.

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All the advowsons, and all rights of presentation to any church or chappell, and all donatives, and also all rent and rents reserved upon any demise in being of any lands or tenements, part or parcell of the said manor, together with the said manor and tenements not specified in this particular, and the value of the demesnes, and all rents in arrear at Lady-day now last past, for or by reason of the premisses, and likewise all charters, deeds, evidences, or writings, any ways touching or concerning the same, are to be excepted.

This particular is grounded on a survey taken 17 March, 1646, by Edward Boyer, Esq., and others, and is made forth by order of the contractors of the 12th of April, 1647.

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